

IN THESE TIMES

Inventing the Indian
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Edward Curtis

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The prudent
revolution

Zimbabwe
two years after

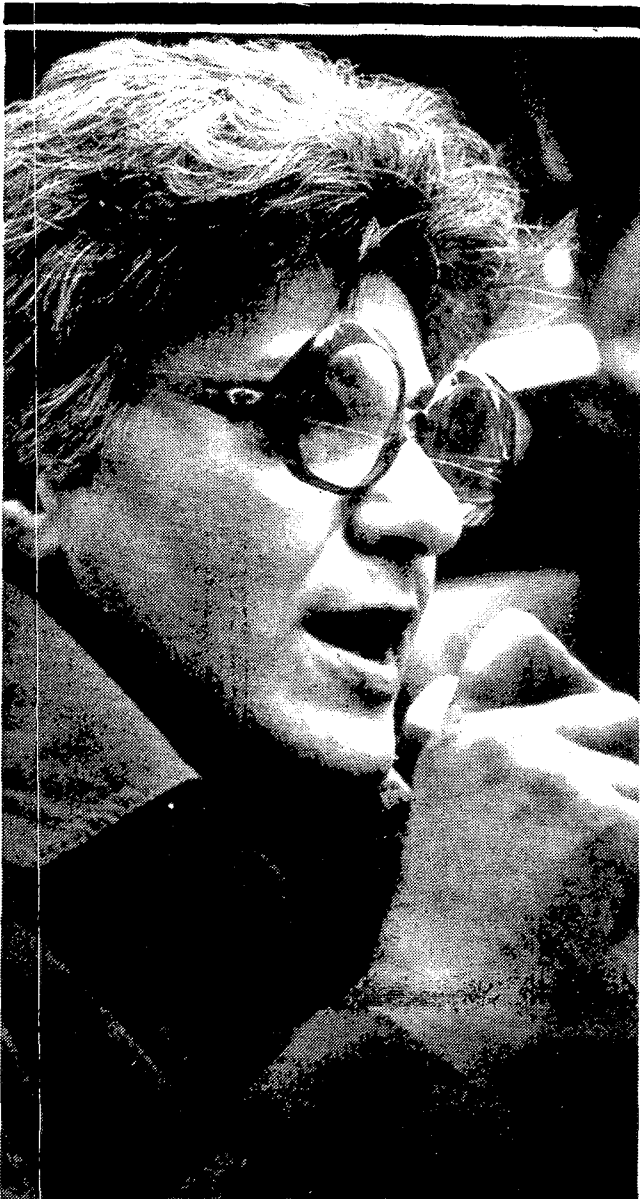
By James North

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Out of
work

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THE INSIDE STORY



Al Difranco

Alice Peurla, president of U.S. Steel's Chicago South Works plant, was defeated in her re-election bid.

All's not quiet on the labor front

By David Moberg

Agitation, insurgency and innovation keep the labor movement kettle on at least a high simmer. On various fronts recently:

The 80,000 Teamsters employed by United Parcel Service (UPS) seem headed toward an unprecedented action—rejection of a national contract. Over the past decade UPS has grown extremely rapidly and boosted profits 294 percent in the past two years (earning \$327 million in shareholders' equity of only \$878.5 million in 1981 for a 37 percent rate of return). But the national Teamster leadership brought back a new 37-month contract of concessions that was patterned on the National Master Freight Agreement covering freight truckers.

Besides freezing wages, the contract reduced cost-of-living adjustments from twice annually to once, agreed to divert part of future COLAs to cover all benefit increases and locked future part-time workers—who make up over 40 percent of all UPS employees—into a new wage bracket about \$4 an hour below full-time pay (\$8 to \$9 an hour compared to \$13 an hour). That will give the company incentive to replace current part-timers, many of whom hold that status for years, with cheaper new-hires. The union leadership also signed the contract before it negotiated any of the supplements that cover such vital issues to UPS employees as working conditions, overtime, guaranteed hours,

seniority and discipline.

Local union leaders were called to Chicago for their usual rubber stamp. But Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) organizer Ken Paff reports, "This meeting was the opposite. The majority of local officials rejected it in an extremely rowdy meeting. Four-letter words were used against [Teamster president Roy] Williams and other international officers. Williams was told, 'You were bought by UPS.'"

These dissidents, of course, are not TDU sympathizers, but the leaders of the biggest locals who returned home to large local meetings where members generally voted for rejection.

Although it takes a two-thirds "no" vote to authorize a strike and reject the contract, Paff says, "I would predict flatly that this contract will be defeated—and this means Williams' authority is greatly undermined." It could also be a big boost for TDU, which has been active among UPS workers, and a blow to the concession syndrome in labor.

Meanwhile, the Teamsters have their hands full with their trucking agreement, which many companies still have not signed (around 600 by the TDU estimate) and still others are already undermining, demanding additional concessions beyond those in the January contract.

Opposition forces in the Steelworkers union, loosely linked to the Fightback coalition that developed around Ed Sadlowski's candidacies in the Chicago-Gary district, held their own in the April round of local elections, picking up some new local union power and losing ground in others. The biggest loss—which may yet be challenged—was at the Chicago South Works plant of U.S. Steel, where nearly half the workers are laid off. Opponents of defeated President Alice Peurla blamed her for not cooperating with the company—even suggesting "Agitating Alice" could cause a plant shutdown (a theme used by Vice President Joseph Odreich against a Fightback candidate in Pittsburgh)—and resorted to scurrilous red-baiting. (The new leadership, along with new District Director Jack Parton, had earlier helped defeat one of the most effective independent, pro-labor Democrats in the state legislature in favor of the Chicago machine candidate.)

In other big locals, candidates associated with Fightback held their seats at Inland Steel in East Chicago, the Homestead local in Pittsburgh (Ron Weisen), U.S. Steel's big Minnesota iron range mine (Joe Samargia), Republic Steel and Danley Mfg. in Chicago and various other important locations. There were scattered losses, including some in the iron range, but new victories, including the large Bethlehem Steel local in Burns Harbor, Ind., Jones and Laughlin Steel in Chicago, and a couple of large fabricating plants.

The prospect of contract concessions next year was an issue in some local elections. Locals not presently suffering heavy layoffs showed a more combative spirit.

"We're a major force," former Chicago-Gary district director Jim Balanoff of the Fightback group claimed. "The [Steelworker president Lloyd] McBride forces can't claim victory, and we can't claim everyone is rallying around our flag. But where people have done their spadework, built organizations and put out publications, the results show. It's like the farmer who plants the seed."

Within the next few weeks the labor movement may add its voice in a more forceful way to the swelling grassroots demand for a nuclear freeze. Last Wednesday, a group of top New York labor leaders gathered to launch officially a labor committee for a nuclear freeze. Local and regional union officials and local unions have also endorsed the freeze throughout the U.S.

Most of the international unions have held back statements until the AFL-CIO executive council takes up the freeze at its meeting later this month. President Lane Kirkland has reportedly tried to restrain the strong sentiments in favor of endorsement among many of the biggest AFL-CIO unions until the council can pass a resolution that generally endorses the freeze but provides cautionary language to satisfy the cold war types. Kirkland is said to be concerned that the growth of a popular movement against nuclear weapons in Europe and the U.S. puts pressure on those governments without any countervailing popular pressure being mobilized in the Soviet Union, giving the Soviets a negotiating advantage.

The Food and Commercial Workers as well as the presidents of the Machinists and AFSCME (public workers) have already endorsed the freeze, and organizers report that the Auto Workers, Letter Carriers, Postal Workers, Government Employees, Service Employees, Steelworkers, Electrical Workers (UE) and Graphic Artists are among those who will join the freeze campaign promptly, possibly timed to the June 12 disarmament rally in New York.

Roughly 18 months ago two outspoken militants, Miguel Salas and Gwen Ferguson, a black woman, were elected business agent and president of the 2,600-member Ironworkers Local 627 at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO) in San Diego. Immediately afterward, before they could take office, the local was put in trusteeship by the national officers. Both had led strong rank-and-file efforts to raise wages and combat harsh discipline, and Salas was also among those active in defending three NASSCO workers charged with plotting to bomb the shipyards, who are currently appealing their conviction.

Now Salas, Ferguson and three other local union members face an expulsion trial set for May 18 on charges relating to their attempt to form an independent union and criticizing union officers during the legal period for such challenges to union representation just before last fall's contract expiration. After the independent lost with 38 percent of the vote, the five accused members returned to work in their Ironworkers local. The legal period for trusteeship expires in June, and Salas charges that the national officers are trying to clear out opposition leaders before the local returns to the membership.

All of the actions that are the basis of the charges are legally protected union activity, they claim. Furthermore, they question the impartiality of the process. They will be judged not by the local executive board or local members, which is the normal procedure, but instead by the top three national officers. Furthermore, they do not present their case directly but simply give their testimony to an international representative, who happens to be the person who prevented them from taking office by instituting the trusteeship.

The defendants were given only 10 days' notice of the trial, but Salas was tipped off by a reporter in advance. When he made a statement to the reporter, he was fired from the shipyard the following day.

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IN THESE TIMES

Unemployment hits 41-year high—and now the bad news

By David Moberg

THE NEWS THAT THE OFFICIAL national unemployment rate reached 9.4 percent for April, the highest peak in 41 years, was bleak enough. But that record only tells part of an even grimmer story.

Most observers now think it's likely that unemployment will rise above 10 percent before the recession bottoms out, but even the recovery will not be cheery: Many forecasts predict that unemployment will remain at 8 to 8.5 percent throughout all of next year as well.

The price for this deliberate policy of economic contraction aimed at stopping inflation by breaking the back of labor is paid not only by the unemployed and their families but also by financially strapped governments from Washington to South Sucoctash, by workers still on the job, by the nation's economic well-being and by the health of workers and those around them subjected to new stresses.

It may be true, as President Reagan argued, that the misery of the unemployed today may be somewhat less than it was for those in 1941 because of an expanded social "safety net." But it is even more clearly true that they are worse off than they were in the 1974-75 recession as a consequence of major cutbacks by the Reagan administration in unemployment benefits, job training (less here than in any European industrial nation before the cuts), public service employment, trade adjustment assistance, food stamps and other aid.

In one sense, the high unemployment and recession aren't really news at all. Economist David Gordon of the New School for Social Research recently calculated that since the end of the Civil War the U.S. economy had been in an official recession half of those 117 years. But during the post World War II years, Americans came to expect longer periods of growth and counter-cyclical government spending to sustain incomes and boost employment when the private economy took a dive. Reagan has drastically cut public spending, much of which was needed in any case, precisely at the time of a recession and has harshly trimmed income protection.

Both moves not only directly raise the unemployment toll but also create a self-destructive downward spiral of the economy. Each 1 percent increment in unemployment diminishes the gross national product by about \$68 billion (in 1980 estimates). The direct cost to the federal government in lost tax revenue and increased expenditures for each 1 percent rise in unemployment is over \$25 billion. That, of course, increases the deficit, which helps keep up interest rates, which in turn depress investment, consumption and employment.

Even if it is not announced in a press release, the clear intention of the Reagan policies, in conjunction with the Federal Reserve Board, is to redistribute income to the wealthy and to discipline labor. Already, according to research by Boston College economist Barry Bluestone, Reagan's programs have provided four-fifths of the benefits to the top two-fifths of the population by income, and roughly the bottom 45 percent of the population have been net losers.

The sluggish economy and high rates of unemployment have whipped labor into line. Last year there was the lowest number of strikes in 40 years—2,577 compared to an average of over 5,000 annually during the past decade. During the first three months of this year, largely as a result of the concession agree-

ment in auto and trucking, the average wage improvements in private sector collective bargaining was 2 percent over the life of the contract compared with 7.9 percent average for last year.

No bright spots.

Until now, the recession had been extremely uneven—a booming oil industry combined with a depressed auto industry; bleakness in Dubuque, Iowa, juxtaposed with only mild discomfort in Montgomery, Md. But, as a Joint Economic Committee economist noted, "the most interesting thing in the latest report is the widespread nature of deterioration of the job market. All groups in all parts of the country are experiencing these increases in unemployment. There's a lack of any bright spots."

The simplistic image of Frostbelt despair and Sunbelt health has been wrong all along. In February the states with the greatest unemployment were Michigan (16.1 percent), Alabama (13.9), Indiana (13.3), Washington (13), Oregon (12.4), West Virginia (12.4), Tennessee (12.3), Ohio (12.2), Idaho (12), Kentucky (11.5), Arkansas (11.4), Alaska (11.3), South Carolina (11.3) and Pennsylvania (11). It is evident that the effects are

five-sixths, Bluestone says.)

Both Bluestone and Gordon argue that the cyclical decline in manufacturing masks an accelerating permanent decline in those job markets. "What we're mostly seen is two symptoms of spreading instability," Gordon says. "Each recession seems to get a little deeper than the one before, especially in unemployment and second, the recession hits hardest the so-called 'sunset industries.' What I assumed would show itself is technological unemployment as corporations finally employ substantial new labor-saving techniques, especially micro-electronics."

When the economy rebounds, a robot or other technology may displace many jobs, not only in manufacturing but also in clerical work, where unemployment is fairly low. Indeed, women have fared comparatively better than men in this re-

Don't overlook the 5.8 million who work part-time involuntarily.



Policies aimed at disciplining labor have also hurt the nation's economy.

geographically diverse and that a depression level of unemployment truly exists in many places.

By far the hardest hit have been blue-collar workers in construction (19.4 percent) and durable goods manufacturing (11.9 percent). Such unemployment has broad ripple effects as support industries shrink and the higher-wage unionized jobs are lost. But even wholesale and retail trade suffers from 10.1 percent unemployment. Only the services showed a small increase in jobs in April, but those are generally low-wage, less-productive jobs. (When a laid-off auto worker takes a car wash job his productivity drops by

cession, because traditional women's sector jobs have been less hard hit so far.

Blacks, however, because of their dependence on sharply declining manufacturing and government employment, now suffer unemployment rates more than double that of whites—18.4 percent in April. Black teenage unemployment is at a phenomenal 48.1 percent. (Only 17 percent of blacks 16 to 19 have a job.)

Understating the problem.

But all of these statistics understate the problem. To get a truer picture of the hardship, it is necessary to add the 5.8 million involuntary part-time workers—a record high—and the 1.2 million or more discouraged workers to the 10.8 million officially unemployed—for a grand total of 17.8 million or 16.2 percent of the labor force suffering from lack of work.

Obviously, not all of these people are permanently sitting on their front porches in '30s-style joblessness. The median period of unemployment in April

was 8.5 weeks—up a week from the previous month. Yet nearly 15 percent of the jobless had been unemployed for 27 weeks or more (most states provide a maximum of 26 weeks of unemployment compensation). But over the course of this year, over one-fourth of the entire labor force—around 30 million workers—are likely to endure some spell of unemployment and nearly half will suffer economic loss.

As the slump worsens, the Reagan budget cuts hurt more. In the past, 13 weeks (or more) of extended unemployment benefits were triggered by high national unemployment rates. Now extensions are only triggered state by state; over half of the states do not provide extended benefits. Also, in the weirdly perverse policy recently enacted, people receiving extended benefits are not counted in determining the trigger. One consequence was that Michigan, with the highest unemployment in the nation, lost 13 weeks of extended benefits last winter.

If the administration changes proceed unamended, on Oct. 1 the state trigger will rise—cutting off 2.7 million potential recipients of extended benefits during fiscal year 1983 and depriving them of \$3.1 billion in assistance, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

Changes in trade adjustment assistance (TAA) have deprived an estimated 400,000 workers of aid during this fiscal year, and those who are eligible receive lower levels of assistance for shorter periods. Changes in food stamp eligibility also exclude many laid-off workers.

But the suffering goes beyond the

pocketbook. Each percentage point increase of unemployment, sustained over five years, yields a 4.1 percent increase in suicides, 4.3 percent increase among men (2.3 percent among women) in first-time admissions to state mental hospitals; a 1.9 percent increase in deaths from disease; a 4 percent increase in state prison admissions; and a 5.7 percent increase in homicides, according to Johns Hopkins researcher Harvey Brenner.

Kids without summer jobs are less likely to return to school and more likely to turn to crime, according to George Washington University professor Sar Levitan. "It's not just a riverboat gamble with the economy but a riverboat gamble with kids that may impact on the rest of their lives," Levitan says.

But maybe it's no gamble at all. Maybe it is simply cold, hard calculation. "Reagan honestly believed that he had to break the power of labor over a wage-price spiral," Bluestone said. "He must be singing a gleeful song."

"Buddy, Can You Spare a Dime?" ■

Steve Kagan

IN SHORT

Giving diplomacy a shove

Under Reagan, diplomatic discourse is reaching new levels of tact and sophistication. Why, just last month a tender situation in Canada was handled masterfully by the U.S. ambassador to that country. The diplomat, Paul Robinson, had delivered a rousing speech to a group of Canadian journalists and newspaper publishers. A hawkish insurance broker who got his present job after serving as Reagan's chief fundraiser in Illinois, Robinson was annoyed that Canadian papers devoted more space to inflation than to the Soviet arms buildup. His hope, he said, was that a more "reasonable approach to this serious and longstanding threat will somehow be able to get some credence in the press."

The tirade irked John Miller, deputy managing editor of the *Toronto Star*. "Mr. Robinson," Miller said after the talk, "I am only a journalist, but I must tell you that I was disturbed and, indeed, offended by some of your remarks tonight....I don't feel that many of us feel disposed right now to share your rather terrifying view of the world or see it as our patriotic duty to subscribe to it."

"Don't you think there's a threat?" the U.S. ambassador replied sharply.

"From where?"

"Russians."

"Could you tell me, please, where the Russians are threatening us?"

Here's where Robinson resorted to the subtle powers of suggestion: "Shove off, kid."

"I beg your pardon?" said the editor, who is pushing 40.

"Just shove off."

After he had cooled off a bit, Miller wrote up the exchange in the *Star*, commenting: "Diplomacy in 1982 should not be conducted as if you're selling term insurance."

Science of the times

Another voice has been raised against the arms race, and the tone is scientific. At its 119th annual meeting last month, the National Academy of Sciences called on Congress, the president and other world leaders to reopen and then intensify efforts to stop the buildup. In the preamble to a resolution that passed overwhelmingly, the Academy noted that "science offers no prospect of effective defense" against the "unprecedented threat to humanity" posed by nuclear war.

And lead us not into collision

To Raymond Peck, who steers the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration (NHTSA), supplication beats passive restraint any day. Last fall, after doing away with an NHTSA requirement that all cars be equipped with either airbags or automatic seatbelts ("passive restraints") by 1984, Peck allocated \$2,800 to the National Safety Council so the Council could encourage the nation to pray for seatbelt use. (It seems that manual seatbelts are used by only 10 percent or so of the driving population.) The Council promptly mailed out more than 3,000 National Safety Sabbath kits to religious leaders around the country. The goal was to "reinforce awareness among persons of faith of their moral responsibility for their own safety and for the safety of others"; the slogan, reports the journal *Advance Notice*, was, "Let's get it together—make it click."

Auto manufacturers, who had convinced Peck that passive restraints were too costly, prayed for the program's success.

Federal offenses

• After hearing reports of fired PATCO members still being blacklisted by the government ("In Short," May 5), it's heartening to know that hundreds of them may be hired overseas. According to PNS Radio, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and Australia are among the nations recruiting the experienced American air traffic controllers—sometimes offering more than they would have made in the States. "They're fully trained," explained Australian recruiter Bruce Merritt. "It's a real bonus for us." President Reagan may actually have done the controllers a favor: A new tax law allows them to work abroad and pay almost no U.S. income tax.

• President Reagan, reports PNS Radio, has followed through on at least one campaign promise: The newest figures from the Office of Personnel Management show that there are now 20,000 fewer federal employees in the nation's capital than there were a year ago—for a current total of 350,000. Outside Washington, the federal workforce has dropped by more than 30,000, despite the 40,000 new employees hired by the Defense Department since the Reagan administration took over. The agency says that most of the cuts so far reflect the departure of workers who quit or retired, and weren't replaced.

• The government, reports the *Washington Post*, wants to know how you feel about nuclear war and civil defense—so maintain your preparedness. The Federal Emergency Management Agency has requested approval to send out a bunch of questionnaires on the topic.

—Josh Kornbluth



The festival featured this 25-foot-long replica of the MX missile, mounted and suitable for launching.

In Berkeley, May Day was 'Anti-Reagan Day'

BERKELEY, CA—May Day was celebrated in a variety of ways this year. Around the world, it was "International Workers' Day." In Washington, D.C., Ronald Reagan proclaimed it "Law Day." But in Berkeley, Mayor Eugene "Gus" Newport officially declared May 1 "Anti-Reagan Day." The mayor's proclamation gave ample cause for the occasion:

• "After one year of the Reagan administration, more people are out of work than at any other time since the Great Depression and the jobless rate is scandalously high for minorities and minority youth.

• "Instead of administration policies encouraging expansion of job opportunities, we have seen a flurry of plant closings, including the shutdown of the Colgate plant in Berkeley.

• "Administration budget cuts have cruelly disrupted the lives of working people, minorities, women, the disabled and the poor, which has contributed to the curtailment of human services in our community.

• "By policies which encourage racism, growing economic

disparity between rich and poor and the loss of job opportunities and services, administration actions contribute to crime and increased tensions in our city.

• "And the administration has pursued a foreign policy that a majority of U.S. residents believe increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust or U.S. intervention in Central America."

To commemorate Anti-Reagan Day, a coalition of labor organizers, community activists and political leaders put together the Berkeley Anti-Reagan Festival (BARF). The event, which attracted more than 2,000 people, featured music, speakers, food, games, tables and booths. The emphasis was clearly on fun at Reagan's expense. Games like "Nuke the Poor" and "The Ronald and Nancy Reagan Memorial Dart Board" set the mood in a decidedly carnival atmosphere.

After opening remarks by Mayor Newport and California state assemblyman Tom Bates, a short series of political speeches and announcements alternated with topical entertainment dealing with such themes as

nukes, the environment and labor.

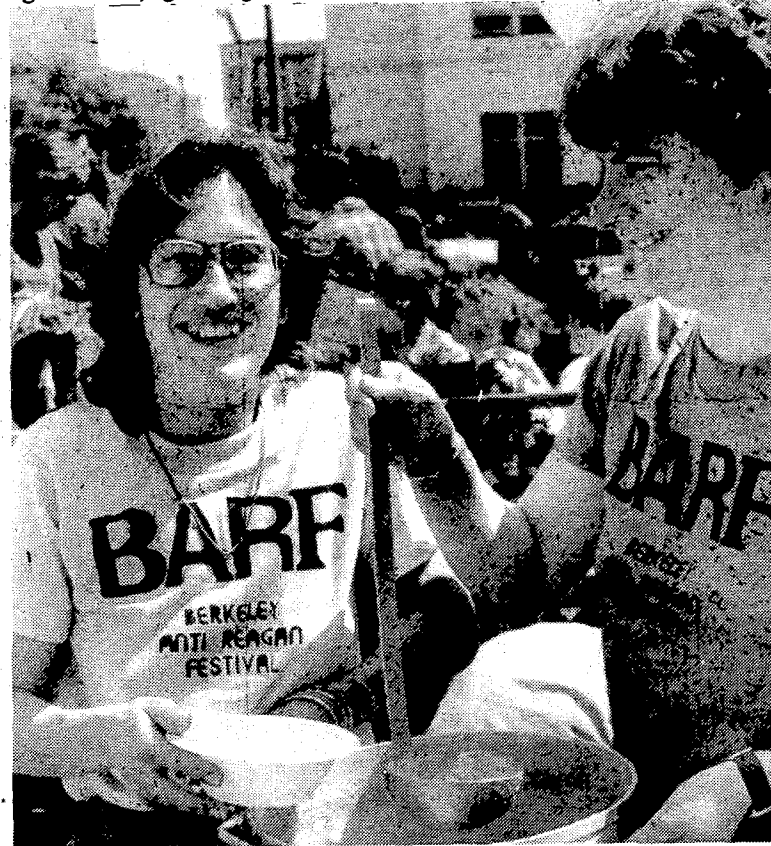
The festival's organizers aimed to lampoon all aspects of the Reagan administration. The Reagan cabinet was there. So was the Department of Health and Human Services, represented by breadlines and a soup kitchen. The Defense Department took the form of a massive 25-foot-long replica of the MX missile, mounted and suitable for launching on a 40-foot flatbed truck, with the words "mass extermination" painted on its sides. The Energy Department was represented by a host of antinuclear tables, booths and displays. Housing and Urban Development was there in the guise of shanties from Stanford University's Hooverville/Reaganville Shantytown. And economic advisers appeared in the shape of clowns and other prestidigitators who juggled the budget, explained the Laughing Curve and made dollars disappear but couldn't bring them back again.

In the middle of a skit by the Bay Area Labor Theater Collective, the president himself made a special guest appearance—much to the chagrin of the crowd. After a quick song and dance, he was ushered off the stage. Between performances, the crowd wandered among displays and tables. The most popular items were buttons proclaiming "Reagan makes me BARF" and the official Berkeley Anti-Reagan Festival T-shirts with the BARF acronym printed across the president's face.

—Mike Berkowitz

Carthan faces new charges

On April 15, the five-year-old legal and political trials of Eddie James Carthan—former mayor of Tchula, Miss.—took a turn for the worse. A Holmes County grand jury charged Carthan and his brother, Joe, with armed robbery, conspiracy and murder. An addendum to the indictment described the former mayor as a "habitual criminal" and a "proven felon." Carthan had already been convicted on charges of felonious assault against a police officer and federal fraud—verdicts that blacks



Jane Scher

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

in Holmes County and many others believe were based on trumped-up charges that were racially and politically motivated (*In These Times*, Jan. 20). If Carthan is found guilty of murder under the "habitual criminal" statute, he faces a mandatory death sentence.

The new charges stem from the shooting death last year of Roosevelt Granderson, one of the black aldermen who had sided with the white power structure in opposing Carthan's administration. Granderson was slain in the back room of a Tchula convenience store last June, in what appeared to be an attempted robbery. The killers escaped, but a few days later police in Tchula engaged in a shootout with at least four suspects. One, Vincent Earl Bolden of East St. Louis, Ill., was later captured.

In October a second man, Nathaniel Hester, was extradited from East St. Louis, convicted of aggravated assault in connection with the shootout and sentenced to 30 years. Last month Vincent Earl Bolden and David Hester (who remains at large) were charged with murder in the death of Granderson. According to local papers, Bolden pleaded guilty to a reduced charge of murder and was sentenced to life in prison. The indictment against the Carthan brothers states that they paid Bolden and David Hester an unspecified amount of money to murder Granderson.

Authorities have been keeping a tight lid on events surrounding both the killing and the shootout. Most local newspapers reported that four black men were involved in the shootout, but the *Jackson Advocate*, a black-owned paper, reported that Holmes County fourth district supervisor James R. Johnson told police he saw a white man driving the getaway car from the scene of the shootout.

In response to requests for an inquiry into the Tchula situation, the National Council of Churches sent a fact-finding delegation to Mississippi. The delegation returned convinced that there was enough evidence to view the charges against Carthan as part of a wider campaign aimed at weakening black political power in the state. State Sen. Henry Kirksey, the respected dean of Mississippi's black legislative caucus, told *In These Times* recently that he believes the state's white power structure is determined to destroy Eddie Carthan because of his independence.

Ever since Granderson was slain last June, civil rights activists have feared that the state would try to implicate Eddie Carthan in the murder. They point to reports that Nathaniel Hester told a visitor to the jail that authorities tried to get him to connect Carthan with the murder in exchange for freedom.

The Carthan brothers were released on \$115,000 bail each, which was raised by a group of black independent farmers in Holmes County who put up their property as collateral. The last time they did that, after one of Carthan's earlier convictions, the farmers were denied credit by local banks and some of them were sold bad seed. The former

mayor's arraignment, on April 19, was attended by more than 200 local supporters, black mayors from other parts of the state and numerous clergy.

Eddie James Carthan is now touring the country to raise support for his case. A national march from Tchula to Jackson is planned for early fall. The address of the National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie James Carthan and the Tchula Seven and to Preserve Black Political Rights is P.O. Box 29, Tchula, MS 39169.

—Sheila D. Collins

Blacks key up for progress

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA.—It wouldn't have happened 15 years ago, but the mayor of this community presented civil rights leader Joseph Lowery with a key to the city last month, welcoming Lowery's voting rights pilgrimage to Milledgeville. It was a token gesture, but one that dramatized the importance of black votes in determining the future of white politicians in small southern communities.

Lowery accepted the key gracefully, but asked why it wasn't bigger. This spring, he and about 25 others are stopping in cities like Milledgeville throughout the South along a 2,000-mile route to Washington, D.C. The trip is intended to muster support for the Voting Rights Act and to revive black political activism in congressional districts where it could make the most difference. The journey includes spiritual rallies and neighborhood canvassing in each community visited.

"We come as catalysts, to bring inspiration, to let people know they're not alone," said Lowery. "The smaller the community, the more intimidated people are by various forces."

In Milledgeville, located in a county of about 34,000, about 100 people showed up for a '60s-style rally in a neighborhood church. Singing "We Shall Overcome," "One More River to Cross" and "Time Is Winding Up," they vowed to get involved, fight injustice and send Ronald Reagan back to Hollywood. Longtime residents said the Voting Rights Act had dramatically changed the nature of politics in Milledgeville, which now has its first black elected official on the City Council.

But they added that significant problems remain, and those problems were the focus of a public forum held in City Hall. "Witnesses" from the area told of intimidation during voter registration and polling. They also detailed several other practices that have served to exclude minorities from the political process. In conjunction with the 2,000-mile trip, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is gathering testimony in such hearings throughout the South. It will present its findings to Congress when the pilgrimage ends in late June or July.

Local organizers in Milledgeville vowed to continue with voter-registration drives and voter education.

—Janet Groat



In her newsletter, Phyllis Schlafly lays down the law on everything from lying to fornicating.

Briefing: Rags of the New Right

Railing against "propagandists of the press" and "reporters as disinformers," the New Right has turned its back on the "big media" and created its own fourth estate. A growing number of publications—ranging from hand-typed, low-budget newsletters to well-financed weekly newspapers—now provide a forum for right-wing views. Here's a sampling:

Published twice a month by direct-mail expert Richard A. Viguerie, *The New Right Report* highlights the strategies and goals of the right. While focusing on conservative politics and legislation, the newsletter also assails the transgressions of those who have strayed from the conservative ranks and the activities of what it calls the "liberal left." Currently under fire are Carter holdovers within the Reagan administration. These Carter appointees, maintains *The New Right Report*, "subvert the programs of President Reagan and the wishes of the electorate who put him into office." Evidence of this subversion? The *Report* asserts that Leslie Wolfe, director of the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, has photos of Mao Tse Tung and Che Guevara on her office walls.

Did you know that "marriage was devised, designed and utilized by all civilized societies to tie men down"? That's just one of the many revelations offered in the bimonthly *Life and Family News*. Published by the Life and Family Center of Collegeville, Minn., this grassroots publication caters to the all-American nuclear family in its coverage of the anti-abortion movement and in its defense of traditional sexual roles. Homilies and prayer are interspersed with reports of the latest internecine conflicts among anti-abortion leaders. Rather than a news supplement, *Life and Family News* reads like an addition to a Sunday church service.

In contrast with the home-spun *Life and Family News*, the *Washington Inquirer* is a hard-hitting, inflammatory newsweekly. Published by the Council for the Defense of Freedom, the *Inquirer* targets military and foreign affairs and harps on a "Soviet/Cuban connection" with left movements in the U.S. Typical headlines:

- "KGB Funds Support African 'Liberation'"
- "Peace Movement Serves Soviet Goals"

• "Puerto Ricans Train in Cuba"

Puzzling over this "communist connection," columnist Patrick J. Buchanan asks: "What is the peculiar fascination of the American intellectual for violent communist revolution?"

Phyllis Schlafly's political concerns are not limited to the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. In her monthly newsletter, *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, she takes on such issues as American national security, parental review of textbooks and media programming policies. To those who accuse the New Right of excessive moralizing, the newsletter replies: "We agree with you that the public schools should not teach religion or even religious values We are not asking you to teach the students that it is wrong to lie, steal, cheat, rob, harm life or limb, or fornicate because God and the church say those things are wrong. We are asking you to teach the students that those things are wrong because the state says that they are unlawful."

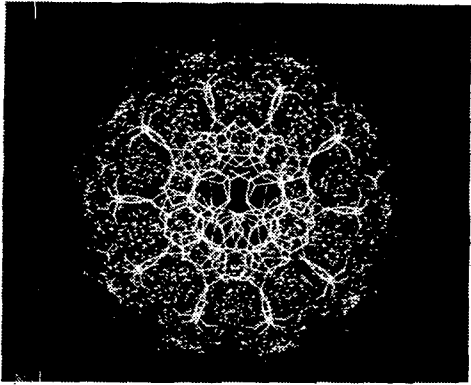
Jerry Falwell's *Moral Majority Report*, a semi-monthly newspaper that receives more than two million letters a year from its readership, headlines the "social concerns" of New Right leaders. While attacks on gays' civil rights and sex education abound, readers also learn about the latest behind-the-scenes strategies of Moral Majority chapters across the country. The art of declaration, rather than analysis, is often used to drive home a point. When a CBS executive compares the current efforts of the Coalition for Better Television to boycott certain TV programs with book burning in Germany during the '30s, the *Report* responds: "Now, I ask you, gentle reader, what has a book bonfire in Berlin...got to do with the Coalition for Better Television? Absolutely nothing!"

"To rebuild and strengthen the political, economic and social structure of the United States and Western Civilization so as to make any merger with totalitarians impossible"—that's the calling of the *Western Goals Report* and its parent organization, the Western Goals Foundation. Under the direction of Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), the *Report* keeps an unswerving eye on the "international terrorist network." Favorite targets are Latin American and African liberation struggles. The monthly publication recently ran a favorable account of the current Argentine government and its president (by means of a coup), Gen. Leopoldo F. Galtieri. Galtieri, lauds the *Western Goal Report*, "is unlikely to be stampeded by 'human rights' pressure in the three-year course of his term as president." —Peggy Shinner

IN THE NATION

UNIVERSITIES

Boom time for designer genes



A computer cross-section of a DNA molecule

By Thomas Brom

STANFORD, CA

CHEMICAL ENGINEERING GRAD student Bill Smith looked at the handful of people who had shown up for a Stanford symposium on campus entrepreneurs and realized his job was going to be tougher than he imagined.

"People are afraid," he says. "There are two levels of criticism about campus research funding—one public and another behind closed doors. Your whole career is at stake. In some departments, every faculty member also works for a private company."

Smith did legwork for a series of five seminars on "Universities, Industries and Graduate Education," even getting sponsorship from the administration. The early signs had been encouraging—students were still upset about being excluded from a Stanford-initiated conference at Pajaro Dunes on commercial use of genetic research. The campus ombudsman could not handle the grad students' complaints of conflict of interest. And post-docs at the Stanford Medical School, where industry ties are strong, requested 600 leaflets for the seminars. But only 15 people showed up, and they were guarded in their comments.

"We're getting more product-oriented because of the intimate contact with industry," says Dan Leonard, a mechanical engineering student who founded Western Data Systems. "That's not all bad. More people are interested in starting their own businesses around here than in stopping other people's."

The Stanford graduate seminars are part of a national delayed reaction to the buying of the universities. Teach-ins and seminars are now being organized at the major research centers in the country—Stanford, University of California (UC), Harvard, Yale, MIT and Cornell. Responding to conflict of interest charges and the anarchy of private business deals in genetic engineering, university presidents are trying to set policy guidelines before the government intervenes. In California, the state Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) has already amended its guidelines, establishing the first academic financial disclosure law in the country. And at campuses from Berkeley to MIT, professors are beginning to take the risk of speaking out on the corporate takeover of their research.

"We and the public have often considered what the responsibilities of scientists should have been at one or another critical juncture in the past," UC immunology professor Leon Wofsy told his colleagues in a controversial speech six weeks ago. "Such a testing time, or what some have called survival time, is now."

Corporations are not new on campus, especially at Stanford. The university pioneered the "tandem industrial park" concept in the '60s, when electronics and

microprocessor firms gathered at the edge of the playing fields to exploit campus discoveries. For the past 10 years, Stanford has operated an Office of Technology and Licensing (OTL), marketing patented devices from mechanical engineering to cardiology.

"We get two or three inventions a week," says OTL director Niels Reimer. "Rather than wait for companies to come to us, we rifle in on target businesses and venture capitalists." In 1980-81, the OTL brought in \$1.2 million.

But the boom in genetic engineering companies—many of them started by professors or grad students turned businessmen—changed a trend to something dangerously close to corporate merger. Last October, Stanford geneticist Stanley Cohen and UC biochemist Herbert Boyer won a patent on the basic process of gene-splicing. The OTL went into high gear, contacting some 400 firms worldwide with a pre-Christmas discount if they signed up early for royalty payments.

"This year we've made \$2.5 million already," Reimer says, "1.4 million of that from the gene-splicing patent." To date 73 licenses have been sold to more than half of the nation's genetic engineering companies. Now that the two universities have also been awarded a patent on the products of the process, Reimer says, there will be a huge jump in royalties.

Partly to avoid these costly payments, more and more companies are establishing a university presence in basic research. In the past two years they have initiated a scramble to buy campus labs, campus research hospitals and campus faculty. Syntex arranged for each of the 80 faculty members at the Stanford Department of Medicine to spend up to eight days a year consulting for the company. Since the contract doesn't fit within university procedures, the department reorganized itself as the "Institute of Biological Investigation," whose membership is precisely the same as the faculty.

In the past year alone, Harvard accepted \$6 million from Dupont for genetic research; the Harvard-affiliated Massachusetts General Hospital accepted a 10-year \$50 million grant from the West German pharmaceutical company Hoechst AG, and MIT approved a \$127 million research facility paid for by Edwin Whitehead, founder of Technicon, a subsidiary of Revlon Inc. Under the Whitehead agreement, as many as 13 corporate researchers will receive MIT teaching appointments, but will be paid by the Whitehead Institute to conduct its re-

search.

"What's happening now on campus is like the original version of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*," one local scientist says. "You look in somebody's eyes, and you know it's already too late."

A gene scandal.

Even though the percentage of campus research funded by private companies is still small, the pace proved too fast at high tech campuses in California and Massachusetts. Last October, a major gene research scandal shook the UC campus at Davis, sending shock waves to Sacramento and down the San Francisco peninsula to Stanford.

Dr. Ray Valentine, a plant geneticist internationally known for his research on nitrogen-fixing bacteria, won a \$2.3 mil-

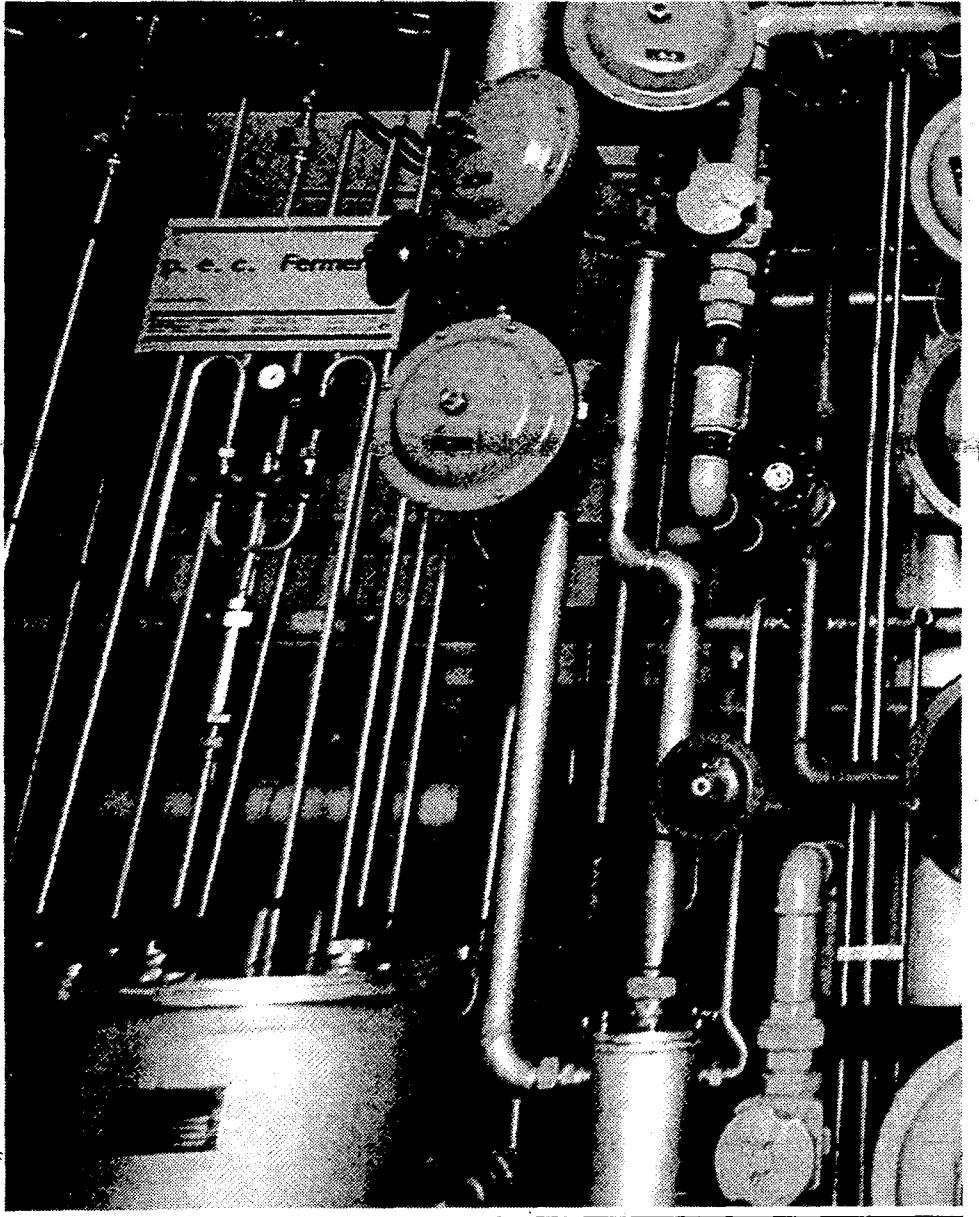
lion research contract from Allied Chemical company. Valentine, who held appointments in both the university's Agricultural Experiment Station and the College of Agricultural Sciences, was to administer the grant. He also was an energetic small businessman, founder of a plant genetics company called Calgene, located five blocks off campus. A few days after signing the deal with Allied, Valentine convinced the company to buy a 20 percent equity in his company at a cost of \$2 million.

And there was more: Valentine's five grad students had been doing work for Calgene in university labs. In addition, some 30 Davis faculty members also did consulting work for the company. Much of the embarrassing information came from the California Agricultural Action Project (CAAP) and California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA), two farm-worker advocacy groups that began investigating Davis during the controversy over university-sponsored farm mechanization.

"This was a classic case of conflict of interest," says Elizabeth Martin of

Continued on page 10

A fermenter—a biochemical cauldron for growing gene-spliced microorganisms



MEDIA

Did the wily Tribune Co. doctor its News pitch?

By Michael Hoyt

NEW YORK

EARLY THIS SPRING AT THE *New York Daily News*, a handful of newsroom employees planned an excursion to Shea Stadium in Queens, where outfitted in *Daily News* T-shirts they would root against the Chicago Cubs. The Tribune Co. of Chicago, owner of the newspaper, had purchased the Cubs around the time it announced it would not invest in a new printing plant

to keep the country's largest city daily alive. So the cheering section offered a moment of levity in a grimmer game far less graceful than baseball.

Along with the Tribune Co., which put the paper up for sale in December, the players were 11 unions representing 3,800 employees at the *Daily News* and Texas millionaire Joe Allbritton, who played for the month of April as a potential buyer, eyeballing the unions until suddenly he was gone.

The Tribune Co. had given Allbritton a special weapon in the contest, announcing that the company would close the

Daily News if he and the unions could not come to terms—mostly Allbritton's terms. But on April 30, as Allbritton scurried out of town, the company dramatically reversed itself, announcing that it will invest "substantial" funds in the paper if the unions agree to concessions. But the unions had been willing to discuss concessions in December, before this emotional roller coaster ride began, so as the dust cleared New York was left wondering what had happened? Who won?

Though the *Daily News* situation is complex, it follows patterns seen elsewhere in the economy, from newspapers to steel mills. The Tribune Co. is stuck with an enterprise that knowledgeable observers say can certainly make a profit, but probably not a high profit. Despite new words about keeping the paper alive, the owners would rather put their money elsewhere, and sell or kill the paper.

Continued on page 7

News

Continued from page 6

But for the moment they can't. As the sale fell apart, the Tribune Co. seems to have abruptly come to realize that the costs of an economically unjustified shut-down would likely be far higher in the courts than the company had figured, largely because of lifetime job guarantees given to some employees in past negotiations. So with two options gone, the company returned to the path it had rejected in December—continued ownership.

Whether this is a holding action or a true commitment may become apparent in new bargaining set to begin May 17. The unions then plan to try to learn just what the company is prepared to invest. So while the *Daily News* still rolls off the presses, with its union bug on the bottom of page 2, the game is not yet over.

Though the *News* reaches 1.5 million readers every day, they are not the upscale readers advertisers want these days. The upscale *New York Times* carries 61 percent of the advertising message in the city, with the *News* and *New York Post*

scrambling for the remainder. With costs rising faster than revenue, the Tribune Co. decided to sell.

And cheaply. Allbritton, who owns three papers in New Jersey, was to pay no money. The Tribune Co. was to keep the newspaper's valuable Manhattan real estate but Allbritton was to get the rest—a Brooklyn press, trucks, the name, logo, goodwill, etc.—for nothing. The Tribune Co. was also to put up a reported \$45 million for initial job "buyouts" from the unions. After that, Allbritton was to assume all future potential losses and possible closing costs.

So Allbritton came in hard, demanding 1,600 jobs from the unions, a wage rollback, a "nonnegotiable" wage freeze and a five-year no-strike contract. From the Newspaper Guild, the editorial union, he wanted to break seniority rules and pick who he laid off from a "hit list" supplied by local *News* management. The horrified Guild refused outright. Allbritton had projected an \$18 million profit if he got the \$70 million in concessions he wanted, but the unions later said his figures were based on "conservative assumptions," his projected losses too high. By the time bargaining broke down, four or five unions had put concessions on the table they calculated at about \$30 million.

Though the *News* has 1.5 million readers each day, they are not the upscale readers advertisers want these days.

Meanwhile the Tribune Co. began to calculate the value of lifetime jobs it had negotiated with its printers and stereotypers in 1973, in return for the unions allowing technology that diminished their jobs. The printers' union, for example, has 555 members with an average age of 57 and a salary of about \$30,000. The pressmen, meanwhile, have job guarantees through 1984 that would also carry weight in court. And as union advisor Theodore Kheel points out, the Tribune Co. promised at one point, in a union press release approved by the company, to give the unions themselves a chance to buy the newspaper if other attempts fell

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through. This too, Kheel said, would carry legal weight if the Tribune Co. tried to shut down.

So the company's announcement that the *Daily News* will live was greeted with little euphoria and some skepticism by the unions, who will bring some new ideas to the bargaining table this round. Though a Tribune Co. spokesman said the amount the company will invest in the newspaper "is not the kind of thing you negotiate with unions," George McDonald, who heads the unions' umbrella group, the Allied Printing Trades Council, said, "It's hard to put this kind of thing in a contract, but it will definitely be up on the bargaining table." And McDonald added, "You can rest assured that the unions have all learned about lifetime job guarantees and will be seeking them in return for concessions."

For the time being, meanwhile, the unions have dropped their idea of offering to purchase the newspaper through an Employee Stock Ownership Plan. Kheel said the unions were always somewhat "timid" about the idea since it is "uncharted ground."

The idea is on reserve nonetheless, and Kheel said he is preparing a speech touching on it for an accountant's group that will ask the question "who has the greatest equity in the *Daily News*?"

"Equity is something of value—it can be stock or something else," Kheel said. Figuring that the Tribune Co. had been prepared to put out some \$70 million—in "buyout" money and the value of the paper's name and equipment—just to get rid of the newspaper, Kheel reasons the company has a "negative equity" in the paper. The employees, who he said earn some \$180 million a year from the newspaper and "depend on it completely," have a "positive equity," he said.

"Who should have a say in the future of the *Daily News*—the people whose sole interest is to prevent their losses, or the people who have the most interest in preserving the newspaper?" he asked. "It's an interesting philosophical question." ■
Michael Hoyt is a New York-based freelance journalist.

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IN THE WORLD

ZIMBABWE

The revolution shifts gears

By James North

ENKELDOORN, ZIMBABWE

THE POLITICAL NERVE CENTER for the ruling ZANU (PF) party in this tiny town 100 miles due south of Salisbury is a small general dealer/eating house owned by Philemon Chitsaka, a 60-year-old giant with a booming laugh and a whimsical attitude about charging his many friends.

Most of those friends are officials or members of ZANU, and much of the party's day-to-day business in Enkeldoorn and the surrounding ranching area takes place around a battered yellow plastic-topped table inside Chitsaka's emporium.

Chitsaka, who has been a migrant worker in South Africa, a traffic policeman and a truck driver, is the elected chairman of the local party branch, a unit with some 500 members. (A branch is above a cell or village committee—with at least 100—and below a district—with 5,000.) Districts are subordinate to committees in each of Zimbabwe's eight provinces, which in turn are under the central committee.

In the two years since independence, ZANU has enrolled more than four million members—about half the country's total population. This huge organization, described by one minister as "a gigantic mammoth," is intended to carry out the sweeping changes Zimbabweans fought for during the liberation war and voted for overwhelmingly in the historic 1980 elections.

In the Enkeldoorn district, as elsewhere, the party was not born at independence. Chitsaka, like many others, fed and clothed ZANU guerrillas operating in the area. He risked imprisonment and even the death penalty. One ex-guerrilla, 26-year-old Mike Nyashanu, is presently the town's youth coordinator. The headmaster at the local high school, a member of ZANU since the party broke away from Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU back in 1963, lived elsewhere during the war, but returned after liberation.

Now these leaders do party work out in the open. For example, they build the party structure, enroll new members and investigate alleged violations of the new minimum wage, both in town and more commonly among workers on the sprawling white-owned cattle ranches.

One recent Saturday evening, Chitsaka and the headmaster sat around the yellow table and discussed transportation arrangements to a Community Cultural Festival, scheduled the next day at a town further south called Umvuma. The headmaster volunteered to drive a load of people in his school's bus. Chitsaka regretted he would arrive late; he had to meet several groups of workers at white ranches along the way.

Their business complete, the two men turned to more general matters. They agreed instantly their biggest problem is the slow pace of land reform. The government has purchased about 10 farms in the area—some of which range up to 10,000 acres in size—but no one has settled on them yet. The party and government organizations—here, in a solidly ZANU area, there is a definite blurring of the two—have conducted surveys among peasants to determine who needs the land the most.

The headmaster, a soft-spoken man in his early 40s, said some "greedy" people had applied for land even though they

already had enough. "It's too bad our country isn't twice as big," he said ruefully.

Chitsaka broke in: "They expected everything would change overnight." Then, in a slightly wounded tone he added, "Some of them don't even bring the matter to me—they go straight to the head office in Salisbury!" Both men agreed, however, that the impatience had been tempered by the government's success in other areas. They said ZANU was now more popular than at independence.

Chitsaka's enterprise is located in the "township," the euphemism for the tumble-down slum one-quarter mile outside town where blacks were required to live during the minority-rule era. In Enkeldoorn itself, the major social center is the bar in the single hotel. Blacks used to be restricted to a tiny, segregated backroom, but over the last several years they have spilled into the main bar and now constitute a majority of the clientele.

Some whites, disturbed at the change, have withdrawn to a private club up the road to do their drinking. But a number, including "Buck" Rogers, a local garage owner, remain proprietors of their customary bar stools each evening.

Rogers, a hearty, likeable man, used to be a staunch Ian Smith supporter. He served in the police reserve during the war, and despite his age (he's 60), often went on combat patrol. Now he finds himself drinking Castle beers alongside his former enemies, the ex-guerrillas.

He has gotten used to the anomaly—so, to a lesser degree, have some of his

white neighbors. He estimates only about 15 percent of them have "taken the gap" down to South Africa or elsewhere. His business has improved markedly, even though the minimum wage legislation has raised his labor costs.

Rogers says he has been pleasantly surprised at the caliber of the ZANU leaders, some of whom he has come to know personally. "We're halfway down to Fort Victoria, so they stop in here on their way to rallies," he explained. "A lot of them are highly qualified, with PhDs, very well spoken."

Bringing Zimbabwe together.

At independence in April 1980, ZANU's main task was to try and bring Zimbabwe together. The new government had inherited a potentially explosive situation. Three political forces—ZANU itself, Nkomo's ZAPU and the whites—still existed, and each force had its own army. The whites were bitterly hostile to the government. ZAPU's loyalty was open to question.

At this time, ZANU put forward its now-famous policy of "reconciliation." The party invited ZAPU into the government, even though it held enough seats in parliament to rule comfortably on its own. Prime Minister Mugabe also appointed two white ministers and sternly warned his followers against any efforts at vengeance. At the same time, the government started the delicate task of combining the three military forces into a single national army, in which ZANU's greater numbers would make it

the dominant influence.

Two years later, despite setbacks along the way, reconciliation must be judged a stirring success. The 60,000-strong Zimbabwe National Army is the only organized military force in the country. Sections of both opposition movements have been placated and, in some cases, won over to the government's side.

The transformation in the white community has been remarkable. In the first elections, Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front (RF) had won all of the 20 seats reserved for whites, continuing an electoral monopoly in the white community dating from before the illegal 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence. But this February Mugabe's conciliatory approach—in contrast to Smith's persistent intransigence—led to what was previously unthinkable—the breakaway of nine of the RF MPs. The nine declared themselves independents and announced they would support the government provisionally. In mid-April, Mugabe appointed two of them to his cabinet. What is even more astonishing is that the split took place while one Rhodesia Front MP was in detention, being interrogated for suspected subversion, and another had fled into exile to avoid arrest.

James Thrush, one of the breakaway MPs, said in his office in Salisbury, "Our sole interest was the country—not the particular interests of white, black or brown people. Rhodesia is gone forever."

Thrush said the detention of a few whites, including Wally Stuttaford, his erstwhile parliamentary colleague, took place against "a backdrop of sabotage." In the past year, a powerful bomb destroyed part of ZANU's national headquarters in Salisbury; a South African spy ring was uncovered in the high ranks of the Zimbabwe police force; the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa was assassinated outside his home. Thrush explained, "Maybe the whites in detention were merely cranks, not really involved in any of this. But it is a very dangerous time to be a crank."

Most whites here are not as positive about the ZANU government as Thrush and the other ex-RF parliamentarians, though tensions have relaxed enormously throughout the country. But emigration continues at a steady clip, reducing the white population to about 180,000 from more than 200,000 at independence. The outflow, however, is still manageable in terms of the number of skilled workers. More critically, it has not been accompanied by large-scale sabotage or a draining of funds.

Arms caches.

With respect to ZAPU, reconciliation has been less successful. In February and March, huge arms caches were discovered on scattered farms owned by Nkomo and some other ZAPU leaders. An angry Mugabe fired Nkomo and several other party ministers and later detained two high-ranking military commanders.

The existence of the hidden arms—enough to equip up to 20,000 people—is not in dispute. But the explanations differ diametrically. ZANU said it uncovered the arms only recently, and it says ZAPU planned to use them to stage an uprising. Mugabe even charged that the party leader had sought South African help.

ZAPU said it had only buried the arms as a defensive precaution against either a possible South African invasion or attacks by over-zealous ZANU soldiers. It says ZANU knew all along about the arms and only discovered them as a convenient pretext to lever Nkomo out of the government and discredit the party. Further, Nkomo claims that ZANU has arms of its own hidden elsewhere in the country.

It is more difficult to ascertain the truth, though more information may emerge if Nkomo or other ZAPU leaders are brought to trial. There is a lameness to Nkomo's story that reinforces the mistrust many Zimbabweans feel for him—a suspicion that has dogged his political career. The national army had been formed, and it included a strong ZAPU contin-



© Bruce Gordon

gent. There should have been no need for private armories. Whites are occasionally sentenced to prison (by a judiciary almost universally accepted as independent) for violating in a much smaller scale the stiff new laws against the possession of illegal arms—laws supported by Nkomo's party in parliament.

At the same time, Nkomo may be power-hungry and hurt by his party's poor electoral showing, but he is not stupid. It is unlikely that he believed an uprising with South African help could win mass support. More probable is that he retained the arms as a long-term investment against a future upheaval but planned no immediate action.

Mugabe stressed he was attacking specific ZAPU leaders, not the party as a whole, and he invited ZAPU ministers not implicated in the arms caches to remain in his government. Nkomo, whose position at the head of ZAPU had been nearly unassailable, predicted confidently that his party would withdraw as a group. To his surprise and evident consternation, several ministers ignored his plea for party solidarity, and Mugabe later appointed several others to join them in the cabinet. Also, several thousand ZAPU members in the country at large handed over their membership cards in widely publicized ceremonies and joined ZANU.

ZAPU is not dead.

Still, ZAPU, which won 24 percent of the vote and 20 seats in the 1980 elections, has not been destroyed. Nkomo attracted 40,000 people to a recent rally in Bulawayo, the leading city in ZAPU's base in the western third of the country, at which he vigorously denied Mugabe's charges. In the same area a number of police and civilians died in sporadic incidents. The attackers may be part of a South African-trained force intended to destabilize the country. But they may also be ZAPU dissidents who are angered by the treatment of their leaders. A full-scale civil war is out of the question, but similar incidents may occur in the future. Meanwhile, the ZANU rank and file grows increasingly angry. The majority sentiment in the Enkeldoorn area is that Nkomo should be summarily shot.

Aside from the embroglio over hidden arms, ZANU could have handled the wider dispute more tactfully. The party is correct when he says it has increased its support even beyond the 63 percent of the vote it won in the elections. But that support is disproportionately from the majority Shona-speaking people. ZANU is still weak in the west, among the Ndebele-speaking minority. Thus, it is not yet a true national party.

The principal irony is that the two parties are basically alike in their social compositions and in their programs for the country. ZAPU has not put forward an alternate strategy to the ruling party's plans for a steady, methodical transformation. The two parties have clashed only over what should be petty differences of personality.

Land reform.

The centerpiece of the ZANU program remains sweeping land reform. At independence, about one-half of the countryside belonged to 5,000 white commercial farmers, while four million poor black peasants were wedged into the other, less fertile half. During the war, both ZANU and ZAPU had fought for an outright expropriation of white-owned land. But at the 1979 Lancaster House peace talks, both were forced to promise fair compensation for any land they acquired.

A 1981 Commission of Inquiry, headed by a young white economist named Roger Riddell, estimated that the black rural zones were capable of supporting only 325,000—which meant another 455,000 should move. Of these, some 235,000 families' principal wage earner was a migrant in the towns or the mines. The commission reckoned that the dramatic increases in wage levels, together with a crash housing program, should within five years enable all the migrants to bring their families to live permanently with them, thus ending the hated oscillating labor system.

Even so, the commission pointed out,

another 185,500 families—nearly one million people—had to be resettled in the formerly white areas. To date, only about 10,000 families have moved. The slow pace is the government's biggest domestic headache. In the Enkeldoorn district, peasant dissatisfaction has so far been expressed only as grumbling to party officials. But elsewhere, particularly further to the east, some 70,000 peasants have taken direct action by illegally squatting on white farms. More are expected to join them before the next planting season starts in September.

Thus, the government finds itself in a terrible predicament. It wants to guarantee a stable, orderly transition to the white farming sector, which provides most of the country's food and earns a significant share of its foreign exchange. To do so, it may be forced in some cases to evict squatters, who are among its most fervent supporters and who are only occupying what they fought for during the seven-year liberation war. The squatter dilemma will put the government and the party to their biggest test yet.

Also at issue is the pattern of agricultural production in both the newly resettled areas and in the older black zones, which will be able to reorganize with their smaller populations. Ultimately, ZANU favors some version of cooperatives, which it hopes will both increase production and substitute solidarity and harmony for the privatized competitiveness that still characterizes to some extent relations among Zimbabwe's peasants.

But the government is absolutely adamant that no one will be forced into a collective. So far most of the limited resettlement has been done on the basis of individual families.

To help the transition, the government has decided to concentrate on youth and not make rigorous efforts to persuade older rural people to change their farming patterns. In the next three years, Jokonya's ministry will establish 32 large youth centers all over the country. At each, 2,000 young people at a time will attend two-year training programs.

to black rural area peasants, many of whom have relatives working in the towns. They have also benefited from the elimination of school fees—primary school enrollment has more than doubled since 1979—and free medical care for the poor. These advances, together with less tangible but no less significant changes, such as the official recognition and promotion of peasant culture and the efforts to strengthen and democratize party and government structures in the countryside, will probably mean the rural poor will continue to be patient on the land question—at least for some time.

Fledgling labor movement.

One unfortunate consequence of the legislated wage hikes has been their damage to the fledgling and still very weak trade union movement. Union leaders complain they have difficulty "selling" their organizations to workers when the improvements are seen to come from the government.

Even worse, the government has generally adopted an authoritarian attitude toward trade unions. In March, for instance, bus drivers in three major cities struck for higher wages. Within two days, the government briefly detained the union leaders and some strikers and encouraged the bus companies to fire all the drivers and hire replacements.

The government may have had a case in that the drivers' demands came on top of increases they had already received and exceeded the guidelines that have

The country is entering a new phase that is less colorful, but just as important.



Zimbabwe has no lack of young people who will be eager to train at the youth centers. Its rate of unemployment is estimated to be at least 20 percent.

Those Zimbabweans who do hold jobs—whether in factories, mines or as laborers on white farms—have experienced a startling improvement in pay over the past two years. Minimum wages have doubled—in some cases more than tripled—their salaries. Meanwhile, inflation, running at 15 percent last year, increases more slowly. It is still too early for definitive statistics on changes in national income distribution. But there are some indications. Nationwide, the volume of retail trade increased 45 percent in 1980 and jumped another 27 percent last year.

This increased income has filtered out

been established to start channeling the national income toward sectors of the population that are worse off. But it made no such case. It simply relied on force.

The government's approach to women has been more positive. In March, a special conference discussed the findings of a survey that showed the degree of continuing inequality. (About 60 percent of the illiterates in Zimbabwe are women.) Discriminatory laws, some of which classify women as legal minors for life, have not been totally repealed. Though women are represented significantly in the upper levels of ZANU and ZAPU and in the government, they lag behind at the grassroots; only 22 of 1,204 district councillors in rural areas are women.

The government has adopted a middle-of-the-road policy regarding private man-

ufacturing and mining. It inherited significant control over only about 15 percent of industry, yet it plans to buy more. It is also calling for a 50 percent annual increase in private investment. Mugabe and other leaders regularly deliver soothing speeches promising no precipitate state action against capital, some 60 percent of which is of foreign origin. The state does not plan to take over the mines either. Rather, it has established its own Mineral Marketing Corporation, which will control selling.

These moderate policies, like the non-confiscatory land reform, are a significant departure from the wholesale nationalizations ZANU said it favored during the war. The changes are in part because the war ended with a political and electoral settlement. ZANU inherited a strong, well-integrated, functioning economy, rather than marching into power as the previous owners fled in disarray. So ZANU has adopted a long-term strategy—that of using its political power to very gradually take over an expanding economic apparatus.

Zimbabwe as counterweight.

What's more, the other states in the region are counting on a healthy Zimbabwe as a counterweight to South Africa's economic dominance. In an area that will almost inevitably be marked by heightening conflict for the next decade or more, poor neighbors like Mozambique and Tanzania may depend on Zimbabwe for their survival. The country has thus far avoided shortages, and it continues to export. Pretoria is obviously frightened, and it has used the economic power it still wields over Zimbabwe in several attempts to weaken the country.

South Africa backed off recently from one such effort, reversing its earlier decision to abrogate a preferential trade agreement between the two countries. The rumors in Salisbury are that U.S. pressure forced Pretoria to relent. Whatever the truth, it is clear the U.S. is sympathetic to the Mugabe government, in contrast to its hostile attitude toward some of the other front-line states.

A moderate outcome is still possible here. Zimbabwe will not become another corrupt third world oligarchy, but the government's present set of moderate approaches—despite the very good reasons behind them—will certainly create an inertia, a resistance to more radical change. A new class of black officials and businessmen could emerge who would try to maintain their own positions without rolling back the gains already won by the mass of people. Of course, such a half-way, incomplete revolution would be a vast improvement over the Smith era. But it would not be socialism.

The best guarantee against such an outcome is a vigorous, continually mobilized party that extends outward from each rural village, each poor urban neighborhood. ZANU is not yet such a party, though it seems to be moving in the right direction. It should strengthen itself even further at a party congress which will probably take place in August or September.

Prime Minister Mugabe says he favors the eventual introduction of a one-party state, though he emphasizes it will not be imposed. A necessary pre-condition will be some kind of merger between ZANU and ZAPU. Unity talks have taken place, which should begin again if the atmosphere cools.

A one-party state would certainly be criticized in the West as inherently undemocratic. But if it embodies the alliance between Zimbabwe's workers and peasants, it will represent almost the entire population.

Unless South Africa invades, Zimbabwe's heroic period is over. Resistance to oppression on the battlefield has been succeeded by a less dramatic struggle—to train skilled workers, to carry through the massive resettlement program, to extend and consolidate democratic institutions. The new phase is less colorful, but just as important. As the Ministry of Youth's Jokonya said, "So far, all we have done is remove some of the impediments to socialism. But revolution is a process, not an event."

Genes

Continued from page 6

CAAP. "As the private subsidies spread, independent faculty and grads can't get lab space, research money and finally can't publish."

CRLA attorney Ralph Abascal adds, "The conflict of interest charges all focused on Ray Valentine. He has stepped down as administrator of the grant, but everything else remains the same. What about those other 30 faculty and grad students? When Calgene prospers, they prosper."

Four of the five grad students working for Valentine quickly shifted to other advisors, but one who tried to transfer to another school found that Calgene had consultants at three of the five schools being considered.

"The Calgene case is outrageous," says a Davis biologist. "But it's only one example of a larger problem. The entire nature of basic research and graduate education is being corrupted, and the administration is doing nothing. Soon we may all be just cutting and splicing, cutting and splicing."

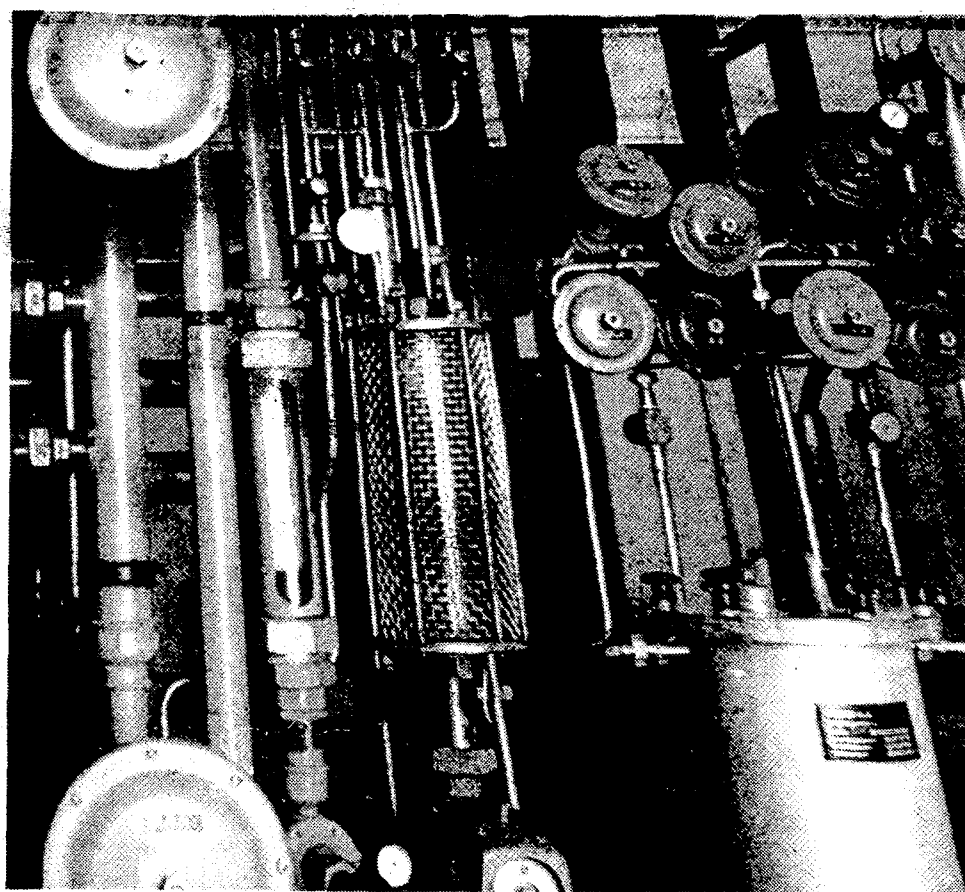
The Calgene case brought public attention to the issue of campus commercialization, and it prompted CRLA attorneys to petition the California Fair Political Practices Commission to amend its rules exempting UC faculty and researchers

from disclosure laws affecting public officials. In March, new rules were passed over the objection of UC requiring "principal investigators" to disclose financial interests in proposed private research sponsors. That leaves enormous loopholes—such as disclosure for the majority of faculty and grads doing research—and potential conflict of interest between private investments and the \$513 million in public research money UC accepted last year. But it's a start, says Al Meyerhoff, attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council who testified in support of strict guidelines. "Once you have disclosure, other things can follow."

Other things have followed, including campus organizing at major research centers in California and Massachusetts. Leon Wofsy has focused debate on the need for full financial disclosure, peer review of private contracts and the exclusion of those with conflicting interests from grant review committees. But the UC administration has reacted with silence, while the Stanford faculty recently turned down a disclosure policy in favor of in-house review should "questions arise."

Pajaro Dunes.

The Calgene fiasco, the revised FPCC rules and a restless faculty also had consequences at the highest level of academia. Late last year Donald Kennedy, Stanford president and former head of the Food and Drug Administration called a special meeting on campus commercialization at Pajaro Dunes. Co-hosts for the March 25



McCoy/Rainbow

gathering were Harvard, MIT, UC and Cal Tech—the major biotechnology research centers in the country. Each university president invited two corporate executives, representing Dupont, Lilly, Gillette, Syntex, Genentech, Cetus, Cabot, Damon, Applied Biosystems and Beckman Instruments. "The set-up for the meeting," commented UC's Wofsy,

"strikes me as fit for a *Mother Jones* caricature on how policy is made."

Stanford University vice president of public affairs Robert Rosenzweig addressed that point in a letter to participants that was leaked to attorneys for the Natural Resources Defense Council. "What concerns me is the growing suspicion I hear from some that the great powers are meeting again at Yalta to divide up, not Europe this time, but the world." Yet he advised, "We trust you will agree that it would not be a good idea to have representatives of the press present."

Kennedy released only an innocuous summary and statement of principles to the press, so no one really knows what went on at Pajaro Dunes. The pre-conference prospectus listed such broad issues as the loss of government support for basic research, new patterns of capitalization for biotechnology and the reduced time of technology transfer to private industry. But Rosenzweig also requested that participants bring samples of their contracts with industry, conflict of interest policies, patent and licensing agreements and faculty consulting policies. As a measure of good faith, Stanford offered to contribute copies of its Engenics agreement, a \$10 million joint venture between Stanford, UC and six major corporations for genetic research.

"An increase in industry's participation would be welcome," the prospectus concludes, "but new forces may also portend difficulty if they are not carefully managed."

Laurie Garrett, science correspondent for National Public Radio, believes the commercial patterns on campuses have been set for good. "It's over," she says. "No amount of activism can change things now. Pure biologists—some with very good politics on other issues—woke up one day and said, 'Gee whiz, we live in a society run by corporations. The best way to get my product out there is to get them to market it.' It's just reality."

Indeed, proposals last year by the Harvard administration to create its own genetic engineering corporation on campus were turned down cold by the faculty. And the Reagan administration isn't likely to begin publicly owned enterprises.

But a few biologists—UC's Wofsy and Paul Baumann at Davis among them—refuse to quit. "Research in the biological sciences is different in intent," Wofsy maintains. "The decades of public investment leading to recombinant DNA techniques were made in the name of public health. These were programs to benefit all the people, not just a few scientists and corporations."

Baumann is even more outspoken. "I guess most of us are very naive," he says. "But I still believe accepting federal grants for basic research carries a responsibility. The taxpayers have risked that money on me, hoping that I succeed with the work of my choosing. It's a privilege, and for me, a calling. To profit by that research now through private contracts is outrageous."

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EL SALVADOR

Opposition leader looks to the future

By John Dinges

WASHINGTON

EL SALVADOR'S OPPOSITION, the Alliance of the Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN) takes its case to the world through Ruben Zamora, a roving ambassador of the coalition's political-diplomatic commission. Last December, he became the first high-ranking representative of the Front to be received officially by the State Department—in an apparently short-lived U.S. government recognition of the need for dialogue with both sides in the Salvadoran civil war. Zamora, 39, heads the Popular Christian Party, formed in early 1980 when many Christian Democrats defected from the civilian military junta. The following interview with him was conducted in Washington on April 29.

What did the March 28 elections mean for El Salvador?

They were clearly a defeat for the strategy of portraying the U.S. as a supporter of the center fighting against both extremes. They converted one of these extremes—the extreme right—into the decisive element of power.

We also consider it a defeat for the army, which took the electoral process as a way to show it had attained a high degree of professionalization in not intervening in the elections. But the results forced it to return to the political arena—to call in the political parties and tell them that so-and-so should be president.

You mean Magana?

Yes, Magana had nothing to do with the election. He doesn't belong to any of the political parties that participated. His membership is in the "political party of the military."

The results are also a setback to the process of seeking a political, negotiated settlement in El Salvador in the short term—because the fascist sectors have gained control in the Constituent Assembly and also in the government.

In what sense was the electoral exercise a setback for the left? The turnout was extraordinarily high.

We underestimated the number of potential voters. Still, the reported turnout of 1.5 million doesn't reflect reality. In this election the fraud was different than stuffing ballot boxes with votes for the ruling party and destroying votes for the opposition. This time they apparently respected the proportion of the various contenders, but the total number of voters was inflated. But the way the voting was presented here in the U.S.—with long lines of people waiting long hours to vote—has been a setback for our struggle in terms of publicity and public opinion.

[Zamora said the illusion of high turnout was created for the media by drastically reducing the number of places people could go to vote, and in one case in San Salvador by forcing all the voters to line up at one door to a gymnasium polling place holding many voting booths.]

What about the image projected here of FMLN forces attacking voters to disrupt the elections?

That was not our objective, and in fact the FMLN did not attack the easy targets to disrupt the elections—the candidates, for example. We knew who they were, and the FMLN did not attack any of them. The attack [reported widely in the press] against ARENA leader Roberto d'Aubuisson had nothing to do with us. Second, there were local electoral authorities in every municipality—more than 1,000 people—and none was attacked by the FMLN. And the day of the election, the obvious target would have been the voters' lines. None were attacked. There



According to Ruben Zamora, head of the Popular Christian Party, there is a resurgence within the armed forces of the young officers movement [the movement headed by Col. Majano that led to the Oct. 15, 1979, reformist military coup].

were, however, some handbills distributed in three or four roads saying, "Vote in the morning, die in the afternoon." That was done by people associated with us who disobeyed their instructions. It was not the policy of any organization of the FMLN.

What happens now in El Salvador?

We face a government politically weaker and less coherent than the previous one. Our response is to develop and deepen the popular war effort. First we will demonstrate the falsity of d'Aubuisson's promise to pacify the country in three months, to show he can't do it even if they gave him all the power in the country.

Politically, we must develop new tactics. On the one hand we maintain our position that a negotiated solution is the only way to achieve peace in El Salvador. The greatest threat to that is the rise of the fascists. Now they have political expression in a political party and are seeking to become a mass movement. That is a threat not only to the revolutionary organizations, the FDR-FMLN, but to other social sectors as well—for instance the Catholic Church, the peasant organizations UCS and CTS-CCS [organizations opposed to the FMLN that support the Christian Democratic reforms, especially agrarian reform] and other labor unions not affiliated with the FDR. Even the Christian Democratic Party is threatened. The important thing in this moment is for us and for all these other forces to have the ability to confront and overcome this development.

How do you view the Magana government?

We see the State Department trying to reconstitute the center in the wake of electoral disaster by keeping the Christian Democrats in the government, by attracting some representatives of the PCN [the National Conciliation Party that won 14 seats in the new constituent assembly and formed a coalition with d'Aubuisson], by putting incredible pressure on them to align themselves with the army and by trying to consolidate the pro-American part of the army.

Magana is a unique man in Salvadoran politics. He has been able to maintain himself as head of the Mortgage Bank—a high post in the country—through three governments and three juntas. He has

done it fundamentally by establishing a network of relations inside the military, for instance by doing them favors through the bank.

By upbringing and thinking, he is not a reactionary. Rather, he has a kind of Alliance-for-Progress mentality. The problem is that he will express that mentality only to the extent he sees the army going in that direction.

How would you compare him to Duarte?

I would say Magana is more politically astute than Duarte. He has more trust within the army. Still, he doesn't have Duarte's mass appeal—the ability to communicate with the masses. And he's a man without a party.

The army seems to have been a surprisingly moderate force.

At this moment, there is a falling out between (Junta Vice President Gen. Jaime) Abdul Gutierrez and Defense Minister and Army Commander in Chief Gen. Guillermo Garcia. There was a lot of talk in El Salvador, apparently with some truth to it, that Gutierrez recently tried to carry out a coup against Garcia.

The army above all is concerned about its own survival. And who is it that assures its survival? Definitely not the oligarchy any more. It's the U.S. government. The State Department, for domestic reasons, is supporting a *tercerista* [centrist] alternative, keeping the Christian Democrats in the government, and that's why the majority of the army supports that position.

You are seeing within the armed forces the resurgence of the young officers movement [the movement led by Col. Majano that led to the Oct. 15, 1979, reformist military coup]. They held an assembly a week ago, the first public manifestation of the movement in months. We have reports of a letter from the movement circulating among the officers with grave accusations against [National Guard Chief, Col.] Vides Casanova, Garcia and even Gutierrez.

What will happen militarily in the coming months?

The FMLN actions of last January were carried out by small units of 30 to 40 men. And now they are going into action with units of 100 or 200 men. In the capture of Usulután [a provincial capital held for several days around the time of the elections], there were 500 troops.

That is a substantial change from a military point of view—logistics, chain of command, planning, etc. It shows an enormous mobility of FMLN troops inside the country.

We expect a very, very heavy army offensive in the second half of the year. Some of us think—and this is not the official position of the front—that the army will change its strategy from defense to offense. With the 1,500 men trained as a rapid deployment force in the U.S., with the Atlacatl Brigade and another similar brigade the North Americans are training inside El Salvador, the army could begin to fight with units of 8,000 men.

Can the FMLN withstand that?

No doubt about it. In these two years, as one of our commanders said, they have allowed the FMLN to grow too big, qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

Can the FMLN go on the offensive?

In fact the FMLN is on an offensive. But with this problem of the Malvinas [Falkland Islands], nobody notices outside the country. The objective is to weaken the enemy as much as possible before all those reinforcements arrive, and, on the other hand, to create the conditions for the insurrection.

What is the FDR-FMLN goal for El Salvador?

We call for a pluralistic government that respects human rights and civil rights, a government of full popular participation, a government that develops a model for a mixed economy—the carrying out of economic reforms in an economic structure with a public sector, a social sector and a private sector. Internationally, we want a strictly nonaligned government.

We believe that these fundamental ideas can be achieved through a process of political negotiation. This can bring about a government in which we—the FDR-FMLN—are not the only force in control, nor the force that controls it, but in which other forces participate—the army, the private business sector, other political parties. This will allow the war to end, so that the struggle can continue—ours as well as that of other political sectors—using other methods.

John Dinges, a foreign editor at the Washington Post, is also an associate editor of Pacific News Service.

Nelson Santana

Brooklyn blacks fight City Hall

By Jim Sleeper



A RECENT STRING OF political victories by independent blacks in Brooklyn suggests at least the beginnings of a sustained insurgency meshing organizing discipline with a left agency in New York.

Unlike the black majorities of Newark or Detroit, which have tended, through sheer demographic change, to inherit old white machines and to perpetuate a tradition of patronage and apathy, Brooklyn's emerging black leadership—representing roughly a quarter of the 2.2 million population of New York City's largest borough—confronts the reality of overwhelming white dominance. The insurgents have had to reach out to other minorities and left whites, shedding in the process some of the parochialism that has rendered blacks susceptible to false prophets in the past. So far, the new black insurgency has avoided the twin curses of visionless hackdom and empty rhetorical militance as it tallies up an impressive list of accomplishments:

- Last September, the insurgency's leaders—State Assembly members Al Vann and Roger Green, and State Senator Major Owens, all from northern Brooklyn—brought a well-prepared suit against new City Council district lines in conjunction with Hispanic and white groups, overturning the lines as discriminatory. Eight months later, the lame-duck Council incumbents are still staggering through the courts, new lines still uncertain.

- In the primaries for borough-wide offices, which did proceed last fall, Vann, Green and Owens were credited by former Representative Elizabeth Holtzman and the *New York Times* with her close victory over machine candidate Norman Rosen in an all-out battle for the

Brooklyn district attorney's office. Holtzman now heads the eighth largest law firm in the country, one of critical importance to blacks as enraged about crime as they are about police brutality.

- At the same time, Vann, Green, Owens and a broad black coalition helped secure the razor-thin rejection of a \$500 million boondoggle prison bond issue, arguing instead for better truancy programs, vocational training modernization, speedier trials, responsible plea-bargaining and prisoner rehabilitation initiatives.

- As leader of the state legislature's Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, Vann helped restore an unprecedented \$50 million in family planning, child care, health and vocational services to the state budget for New York City.

- While building coalitions with Hispanics and whites, the insurgents have made some headway toward discrediting and isolating still-powerful organization blacks known for less salutary coalition-building with established white powers. Shirley Chisholm, for example, has seen the writing on the wall and announced her retirement from Congress this year. Vann or Owens will run at the head of the insurgent slate against the anointed machine candidate in what promises to be another tough race.

Meanwhile, the insurgents have had to defend their own seats against attacks from the Brooklyn machine. This last plight is summed up best by Major Owens: "It hurts a great deal when commissioners' doors get closed in your face. Sometimes we're made to look a bit ridiculous when we arouse the community on the real issues and then can't get services delivered," or at least get patronage crumbs for the few, which regular pols mix with apathy for the many, to insure a serene incumbency

over neighborhoods sliding slowly into hell.

The insurgents understand that affluent constituencies can get what they want from the political system in non-electoral ways. But in poor neighborhoods the cost of bucking the established power's agenda is greater, because needs are more desperate and politicians are the only leverage their constituents have. The regular organization can frustrate service delivery in an area to make reforming zeal "look ridiculous"; it can also run a better-funded primary opponent against an independent and drag his campaign into its hack-ridden courts. Only the strongest grassroots organizing can withstand these assaults; yet mobilizing people continually without any returns is like afflicting them with a case of the political dry heaves.

A rare political breed.

Vann and Owens are of that rare political breed that comes from credible careers in other professions and from a tradition of community organizing that teaches that the patronage/apathy system is worse than anything Ed Koch or Democratic county leader Meade Esposito can throw at them.

There's some irony in the fact that the insurgents have recreated elements of the traditional machine, pulling votes through community service. But the differences are striking: Black politicians traditionally kept their Albany or City Council seats "safe" for the county organization by arousing as little passion as possible about service delivery or voting. And even when they refused, the machine's habit of trading individual favors for political quiescence never challenged the systemic inequities that were draining minority communities.

Black leaders worthy of the name can

no longer afford. As Vann puts it, vast and people. cal. Of course we stituency, but we tronage deals be grassroots organi a lot of time and no quick way. coffee klatches, have no big b because it fo base."

An example of the insurgents bi Green's obsess grams, beginning give kids marke technical college vocational high (the ailing indus Brooklyn Navy Y put the pieces to paths for kids h

One of Green bany, with Mani Alan Seigel, was tion Department Assitance Plan 17,000 students dards Green wa trary. "We felt th dents don't show get a chance at re ing dropped. J abruptly is no wa are all these litt around up there who these kids re

"That kind of the state level no director of Cons ford-Stuyvesant a borhood econom of the sad thin community is tha

Gretchen Donart



New York State Sen. Major Owens (right) with (l. to r.) City Council member Ruth Messinger, APSCME DC 1707 shop steward Linda Cooper and City Clerk David Dinkins.

themselves to be used by the establishment, while others put themselves totally outside the process. We as a community have to grow up. We can play the game, yet not lose sight of our own agenda. But it takes a very special kind of person to pull that off. Al, Roger and Major are that kind of person."

From integration to militance.

Once upon a time, getting elected was an end in itself—a victory more for Negro respectability than for black power. Though the fiery Negro socialist Maude Richardson had waged campaigns in Brooklyn early in the century, the first phase of "successful" black politics in Brooklyn was a jockeying for respectability by bright young lawyers who were given seats by the machine in the late '40s and eventually became judges. "If they didn't embarrass the system, they'd get a reward," says Andy Cooper, director of the city's black Trans-Urban News Service.

Cooper helped initiate a second phase of black politics, embodying the aspirations of the civil rights movement, around 1960, with the formation of the Unity Club in the Crown Heights section: "We were integrated from the start. Our concerns were more global—civil rights, jobs. We were a friendly, idealistic club pulling people in for coffee and cake and conducting aggressive voter-registration drives with the Urban League."

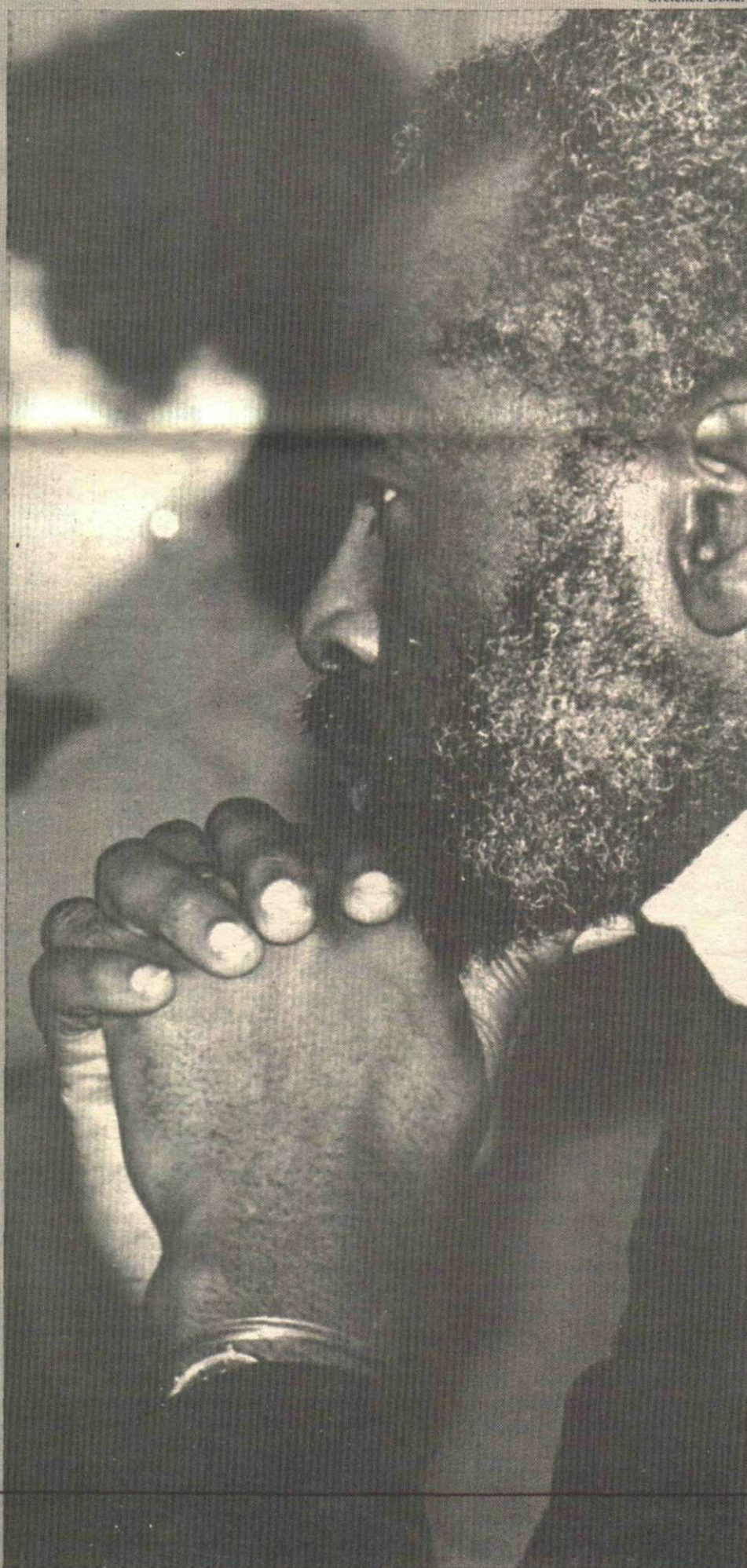
In Ocean Hill-Brownsville to the east, meanwhile, a newcomer named Major Owens was experimenting with another kind of community organizing. A graduate of Atlanta's Morehouse College with an M.A. in library science, Owens had come north in 1958, at the age of 22, to be Brownsville's branch librarian, writing a novel on the side and publishing articles in professional journals.

In 1964 Owens was asked to help write his neighborhood's plan for a "Community Action Agency" under a new federal Equal Opportunity Act. The plan envisioned a Brownsville Community Council with a credit union recycling the savings of its 600 employees and other residents into housing developments, a food co-op, and job-training programs. "The beautiful thing was that because Brownsville was homogeneously poor, everyone felt the Community Council was the hope of the neighborhood. Everyone had a stake in it and wanted to make something of it. All the rip-off artists were given short-shrift."

"We even kept our books well,"

Continued on the following page

Gretchen Donart



New York State Assemblyman Al Vann

Continued from the previous page

Owens chuckles. "I guess that's why Lindsay asked me to be commissioner of the Community Development Agency (CDA)." It seemed a time of glorious hope. But the gains of this second phase of black awakening were already being undercut.

While the county organization used opportunists to contain electoral and other challenges, battles over integration in east Brooklyn schools reoriented the thinking of many young blacks away from what Cooper calls "naive integrationism" toward an increasingly separatist black power. Alienation from white society deepened in the '60s with the murders of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, with the Vietnam war, and with mounting white resistance to black political gains.

The souring of integrationist hopes and movements in the late '60s sent many Brooklyn blacks into the county machine fold, but it plunged the best of the rising generation into a painful self-discovery. At cultural/political centers like the East in Bedford-Stuyvesant, young blacks attended powerful dramas, lectures, and rap and jam sessions, searching beyond the amnesia of the slave ship for a lost culture and direction independent of the white world's fickle promises. Their discoveries became a force that neither the respectability jockeys of the first phase of black Brooklyn's history nor the naive integrationists of the second phase could possibly absorb. A Black Panther chapter formed in Brooklyn and Muslim sects appeared.

This third phase, of enraged militancy, disdained past black politics and white society itself, particularly the latter's acculturation of black children through the public schools. Not by accident was the name "African-American Teachers' Association" given to the group headed by a tall, austere, dashiki-wearing young man named Al Vann and supported by a young minister named Herbert Daughtry during the battles for "community control." White teachers were frightened not primarily because their jobs were threatened (how many walked docilely into unemployment just a few years later during the city's fiscal crisis) but because their identity as professionals bearing culture to children was rejected as an embodiment of oppression.

The militants' assault exposed the workings of white power, politically as well as emotionally, in black neighborhoods: The United Federation of Teachers' (UFT) Albert Shanker fed white fears and smashed community control through an alliance with the regular county organization, which imposed the infamous "poverty pimp" Sam Wright with a mailed fist 20 years after it had "bestowed" the first black assemblyman, Bert Baker, with a velvet glove. As Wayne Barrett has documented in *Village Voice* articles, Esposito's courts and Wright's thugs helped install a community school board that dismantled the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration District and put Shanker's teachers back to work on their own terms, in exchange

for all the campaign contributions, and honors, the UFT could funnel to Wright and Esposito. Much the same happened to the Brownsville Community Council: As CDA commissioner, Owens had blocked Wright's funding while Lindsey was in power, but Mayor Abe Beame, an Esposito protege, restored it in 1974.

That hopes of black education and Owen's model programs were devastated by Wright's multimillion-dollar patronage empire was of little consequence to established power, so long as the specters raised by Vann and other community advocates were suppressed. And as their militancy was suppressed, it turned at times to an impotent fury that only deepened whites' convictions that it must be destroyed.

Building a base.

By 1971 Al Vann was 34, running an Upward Bound talent-search program at Long Island University. Unlike the media-created politician so common today, Vann was rooted among friends who'd played basketball and awakened at the East together, known angry solidarity, and steadied one another. Among them were Franklin Thomas, now president of the Ford Foundation; Zeke Clements, a principal in Bedford-Stuyvesant; and Malcolm Dunn, owner of a successful office-cleaning firm.

As they looked around at the rising tide of welfare dependency and single-parent families, redlining and housing abandonment, unemployment, addiction, crime and infant mortality (an important index of overall health care, and highest in the city in central Brooklyn), Vann and his friends saw that the needs were too overwhelming for demonstrations and speeches alone.

Besides, they discovered that the black community was fundamentally conservative. Most blacks were in no position to sneer at upward mobility or to invoke injustice as an apology for crime. Many of those fortunate enough to acquire education and training, often through the anti-poverty network, were scrambling quietly out of the ghetto with no intention of looking back. Vann and his associates chose to remain.

Vann challenged Assemblyman Calvin Williams on the Vanguard Independent line in 1972 and garnered a strong 2,000 votes. Roger Green first met Vann sitting in his Fulton Street storefront. "It was a natural relationship right from the start," he recalls. Now 32, Green exudes the affable, youthful style of his political beginnings. "Those early days were manic, alternating between anger and hope. We'd stay up all night working on issues. We had the principle of turning every setback into a broader offensive. If the state or city wanted to close a youth center or health clinic, we'd research and push for a broad youth or health program to meet the needs we'd documented. Rather than give up on an issue, we'd hang with it. We built networks and developed a reputation."

When Vann went to Albany in 1974, he quickly established himself not as a rhetorician but as a canny legislator with a

keen sense of priorities and of the importance of research and planning. But not all the militancy was gone from Vann's new base. Among its more controversial elements is the Black United Front (BUF), headed by Reverend Herbert Daughtry. The BUF includes his House of the Lord Church, Black Veterans for Social Justice, Sam Pinn's Brooklyn CORE, the Sisterhood of Single Parents, the East, and other groups that helped in the insurgents' campaigns. "Among the black community, to an extent which would surprise a lot of people, we have a lot of credibility," Daughtry maintains. "We don't try to excite people just at election time. You have to touch them where their interests are, and win trust by serving them. Then, if you say that one effective way to bring change is to vote, they'll listen."

Toward the end of Vann's first term, in November 1975, Major Owens, elected state senator after returning to Brownsville to fight Wright, led a city-wide traffic stoppage when Beame threatened to cut all anti-poverty programs by 33 percent instead of the 8 percent all other agencies were facing, because the community corporations had endorsed Herman Badillo against Beame for mayor. Owens and Vann brought busloads of people to Albany, stiffening the resistance of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, which held the state's budget hostage until Beame relented and set the anti-poverty cuts at 8 percent.

Owens doesn't feel he has to apologize for the atmosphere of scandal that enveloped the anti-poverty programs. "It was Carol Bellamy and I who studied the programs in the senate and first coined the term 'cesspools of corruption' to describe some of them. When Ed Koch used those words as a candidate, we welcomed the prospect of reform. I was one of the last to turn against him as mayor. But removing all power from the communities was wrong. There have always been responsible groups fighting local corruption, and these should have been empowered, not dismissed."

"Every ethnic group has used public institutional bases to solidify its power. The Italians had sanitation, the Irish the police and the Jews the board of education. The community corporations were our foot in the door."

The continued exclusion.

The irony is that the "poverty pimps" aren't the real enemy. They bedevil black Brooklyn only because the black laboring class and underclass have never been more dispensable than today. They are dispensable occupationally, in a political economy that can't bring itself to create enough jobs producing things people really need; they're dispensable psychologically, as Reagan's fantasies and our own shifts of fashion consign them to a new "other America" that will have to be rediscovered when the wheel of our national interests turns again.

The insurgents are demanding inclusion, as men and women with equal needs and rights, in society's deliberations about its resource allocations.

Maybe it's because there are no such debates in this age of the Invisible Hand that whites tend to undercut Owens' and Vann's efforts with romantic or hate-filled alibis for blacks' continuing exclusion—that it is deserved, that it is self-imposed, that it is redemptive.

Certainly a jittery, statesmanless white establishment is hiding behind its old barricades in New York, seizing upon the insurgents' mistakes, mischaracterizing almost everything they've experienced or achieved.

Two years ago at a Gracie Mansion luncheon for state senators, Ed Koch strode up to Owens and, towering over him, wagged a finger in his face. "Major, I know you've been criticizing me, and if I were a different kinda guy you wouldn't be getting any programs out there."

Koch recently announced that one of the people he most emphatically won't be building bridges to in the minority community is Al Vann. Vann, now 47, replied calmly to a reporter that he really didn't care whether Ed Koch spoke to him, as long as he spoke to the needs of minorities. Lesser men might have been devastated by these public displays of mayoral disfavor. But then you have to consider what it has taken for Owens and Vann, seeing so far into the depths of white self-deception and power, to pass up professional success in writing or education and assume instead the burdens of leadership in some of America's most troubled neighborhoods.

What role for the left?

The question remains how white New Yorkers might actually respond to the black political gains of the past two years and of the near future. The answer turns mightily upon whether the still-open wounds that blacks and Jews inflicted on one another during the school confrontations of the '60s can ever be healed. But there is another question: Will the coalition-building the insurgents have undertaken remain truly progressive, moving on from merely "throwing the rascals out" within the traditional electoral system toward challenging the corporate stranglehold on urban economies?

The insurgents aren't naive about that stranglehold and the limits it places on the victories they've won. But unlike some on the left, notably certain proponents of the Alinsky approach who are organizing in Brooklyn, Vann, Owens and Green view electoral politics as a central element in the repertoire of the left—a tool that blacks ignore at their peril. Says Andy Cooper of *Trans-Urban News*, "I think we've learned simply that we have to solidify the black community electorally so that we can reward our friends and punish our enemies peacefully, like every other group in America. Without that, people will never respect you and you won't get a penny. With it, you can talk about coalitions and progressive efforts."

Owens is especially irritated with those who disdain what he himself admits is "the filth of electoral politics. Unless you wade into it," he says, "you'll never get

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LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

WELL, ALMOST

IN MY ARTICLE ON NUCLEAR DETERRENCE (*ITT*, April 7), I wrote that nuclear weapons do not defend us "as a fort might defend us from pirate ships." But when the article appeared, the wording was changed to "as a fort might defend us from a band of Apaches."

Hollywood and various other popularizers have worked hard to rewrite history, reversing the role of defender and attacker, victim and victimizer, in a way that would be more pleasing to white America. Nevertheless, we would expect a progressive publication such as yours to refrain from a gratuitous reference that violates the memory of the many unarmed Apache women, men and children slaughtered at Wounded Knee. We would expect *In These Times* to show a greater sensitivity to the past and present oppressions and struggles of Native American Indians.

It would be appreciated if you apologized for the use of those words and for inserting them under my name.

—Michael Parenti
Washington

Editor's note: Our apologies. Our intention was to unmix Parenti's metaphor. In any case, the women, men and children at Wounded Knee were Oglala Sioux, not Apaches.

OPERATION JOBS

THE RACIST ATTACK ON THE CHICANO/Latino and Asian communities perpetrated in the so-called "Operation Jobs" once again reveals the nature of immigration to the functioning of this social system. Operation Jobs was a cruel hoax designed to cover up for the failure of the Reagan administration's economic programs, to blame the job shortage on immigrants. It was also designed to build public support for the harshly discriminatory Simpson-Mazzolli bill to change the present immigration law.

In part the raids were a success. They created a climate of terror designed to reinforce chauvinism in American life. In large part the left was not prepared to defend the immigrants because the democratic left is too divorced from immigrant communities. Democratic Party politicians, of all people, were actually out in front of the democratic left in many instances.

The immigration struggle is a cultural crack where the pseudo-democratic mask of this society is revealed. Immigrants make up a significant portion of the working class, yet too often left organizations ignore their special needs. Immigrants are doubly oppressed by their lack of legal status. Often their very migration to the U.S. is caused by American multi-national corporations.

—Duane Campbell
Sacramento, Calif.

EXEMPLARY POVERTY

MARCIA YUDKIN'S "POCKETBOOK Pacifists" (*ITT*, April 14) is a good article showing the diversity of the war tax resistance movement. However, I don't agree with Alan Eccleston who was quoted as being wary of us resisters who live on a non-taxable income. Many of us choose to live in

"voluntary poverty" effectively to show our opposition to the spending of our tax dollars for the military. We do this because we know that not one cent of our money goes toward the race toward human extinction; unlike Eccleston, from which the military eventually gets its money and then goes forward to produce killing machines. Military tax resistance, whatever its form, is just a means. The end result is to gain support for spending for human needs (peace) and to end the threat of self-annihilation.

—Brad Ott
New Orleans

BOY MEETS TRACTOR

DANIEL NEWMAN WROTE AN ARTICLE on the opening of the new Rockefeller wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the display of primitive art (*ITT*, April 14). He "reviewed" this cultural event in polemical terms of imperialism, plunder, exploitation and oppression. Allan Goldstein wrote a refreshing letter (*ITT*, May 5) pointing out that Newman's political obsession had blinded him to the power of the Dogon mask and the beauty of the Peruvian pottery. Newman, in reply, launched an ad hominem attack on dear Dr. Goldstein! Perhaps art is not the only place Newman's taste might profit from cultivation.

If Newman did not exist, John Ruskin would have to create him. Both would impose upon the appreciation of art political imperatives and all manner of judgments as to orthodoxy. From his chair at Oxford, Ruskin criticized art on the basis of the place it was hung, on the basis of the sexual preference of the artist, on the basis of its departure from the style of the academic school and even on the basis of the politics of the artist's home country. Neither Ruskin nor Newman would have one look at an artwork and evaluate it solely on the basis of what it says to us or what it does for us.

Theodore Dreiser once wrote that "art is the stored honey of the human soul, gathered upon the wings of misery and travail." The art is the interpretation—of nature, of experience. It need not be interpreted through a cloud of extrinsic polemics. Shakespeare, apparently anticipating Newman, penned, "Cursed be the politicians, who through ignorance, would tongue tie the arts." QED

—Jim Whistler
Gary, Ind.

LET THE OWNERS KEEP IT

LESTER RODNEY'S SPORTS COLUMN in the April 28 issue of *In These Times* included some comments on players' rights to "a reasonable share of the TV bonanza" that brought to mind a reoccurring concern of mine. While it is true that in the so-called "free enterprise" system of capitalism one is supported in efforts to get everything possible from anyone and everyone, the rich are paid money for having money (called interest and dividends) and the poor are charged more for not having cash (called carrying charges, etc.). It is hard for me to accept the former sports editor of the *Daily Worker* championing the imbalances of capitalism in our independent socialist newspaper. Because there is no restric-

tion on the maximum amount a person can earn or hold (say 10, 15, 100 times what the poorest person has) is not sufficient reason to suggest that a popular athlete should try to outstrip the farmworker (also exposed to a demanding life) by a thousand to one earning ratio.

Trade unions have been unbelievably myopic in this fashion. As the spirit of "get as much as you can get and then support others in their efforts to do the same" because the capitalists are getting "too big a hunk in the first place" continues to divert our attention from achieving a mutuality of either poverty or prosperity for all workers—and eventually for all people, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

—Gregory Marotta-Sims
Boonville, Calif.

NOT GOOD ENOUGH

J.H. EVANS AND JACK EPSTEIN'S ANALYSIS of Argentina (*ITT*, April 21) was good background material to assist in understanding the confrontation over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). However, it is inadequate in discussing the dynamics of Argentine society to ignore the official anti-Semitism that has characterized the last several years. To talk of censorship, attacks on educational institutions, etc., and ignore the disproportionate number of Jews harassed in these areas is irresponsible. The Argentine military officially pushes a "pro-Christian" definition of morality; hence all Jews are suspect. Jacobo Timmerman is merely better known than other Jewish sufferers.

A left publication would not ignore such a plight were it another minority. Jews insist that anti-Semitism, like all racism, be fought.

—Phillip L. Bereano
Seattle

OFFENSIVE

AS A PROFESSIONAL HISTORIAN AND as a long time activist on the left, I take strong exception to the irrational response of Marvin Gettleman to Morris Schappes' letter (*ITT*, April 7). The difference in interpretations of the past is not the principal issue here. Schappes detailed several factual errors made by Gettleman. The latter's responsibility is to acknowledge or refute Schappes' allegations. Instead, his reply "...I will out of respect for his long-time honorable position on the left refrain from any point-by-point rebuttal" is unprofessional as well as offensive. I am surprised that *ITT*'s editors published Gettleman's reply without having given careful consideration to ethical conduct.

I am long used to the type of emotional claptrap in Harry Sheer's letter (*ITT*, April 7) but I was surprised and indignant that *ITT* would publish it.

—Albert Prago
Flushing, N.Y.

Editor's note: We publish many letters that are offensive to us—and to others. We do so in order to present a representative sample of the views of our readers.

KEEP GOING

I LOVE YOUR PAPER AND WANT YOU to survive. I'm nearly broke, but you're worse off, so here's my check. Keep it going.

—An underpaid
(socialist) schoolteacher
Minneapolis

HOW SOME LEADERS SEE IT

WE APPRECIATE JOHN JUDIS' ATTEMPT to give full coverage to the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) founding convention, an event ignored or greeted with hostility by much of the media. However, we are disturbed by

some errors.

First, contrary to Judis' assertion that "no DSOC local has its own office," the Detroit chapter has maintained an office staffed by volunteers since 1980.

Second, and more important, the Debs-Thomas dinner at which we presented an award to UAW Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus, a member of DSA and an avowed socialist, was mentioned by Judis only as a "gesture" that "for some of the NAM and DSOC members...amounted to an endorsement of the recent givebacks that Majerus helped to negotiate."

That was quite a mouthful. The most recent negotiations Majerus has been involved in are with American Motors, and as of this writing, those negotiations have broken off without a settlement—and without any "givebacks."

We are proud to have given Majerus this award, recognizing a long history of union militance that started with his leadership of the bitter 10-year Kohler strike. Over the years, Majerus has participated in negotiations that unquestionably raised the standard of living for UAW members and for other workers as well.

If it is not possible to make such gains this round of negotiations, we think it is grossly unfair to pass off blame to union leaders. It's unfortunate that Judis must be reminded of the depression autoworkers and their communities are suffering for the third year in a row (more than a quarter of a million are indefinitely laid off); or that the lifting of trade restrictions in 1974 has forced American autoworkers to compete suddenly for jobs with the most exploited workers in the world; or that more than three of four American workers are not unionized and, more often than not, resent the union-won wages and benefits that autoworkers enjoy; or that Reaganomics have created a climate that has severely undermined the power of a strike, a union's only trump card during negotiations. And that these problems are deep and cannot be solved solely at the bargaining table by the unionized minority.

It's little wonder that corporations are demanding take-aways (unions aren't offering "givebacks") and that the top concern of every UAW negotiator this year is, above all, job security.

—Victoria Cross Hugley, Roger Robinson
and Margaret Zimmeth
Detroit Debs-Thomas Dinner Committee

John Judis replies: DSOC's national field secretary, who should have known, told me no DSOC local had an office. My description of the reaction of delegates to the Majerus award was an accurate account.

HOW A MEMBER DOES

AS A MEMBER OF DSOC (DSA), I FIND its political strategy pretty hard to digest, especially since the UAW has followed basically the same bankrupt strategy since the '30s. History bears out what supporting "the friends of labor" in the Democratic Party has done for the UAW. It has completely immobilized it politically. What we need is a labor-based third party.

Also, if you were a rank-and-filer of the UAW and a member of DSOC, would you advertise it to your co-workers? All they'd have to do is see all those UAW, concession-peddling bureaucrats on the "big name" list and they'd punch you out. Socialism is a bad word in America. Let's not make it worse by having it associated with labor-fakers, collaborators and Democratic Party-pushers.

—Alan Orr
UAW local 145, Aurora, Ill.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DIALOG

THE FOLLOWING LETTERS from members of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the Citizens Party, the Socialist Party USA and Democrats for Change were written in response to editorials on the Citizens Party electoral victories in Burlington, Vt., (ITT, March 24), and the merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM), which gave birth to DSA (ITT, April 7).

We sent copies of the April 7 editorial to several prominent members of DSA, but they either declined to comment or did not respond at all. So the letters here are unsolicited responses. We believe they are a representative sampling of views of people who share our commitment to build a popular American movement for socialism in the '80s, though it is also clear, as the letters reveal and as Milwaukee's Socialist member of Congress said in 1915, that when business is bad the partners start to quarrel.

Democratic Socialists of America

IT IS NOT TRUE THAT "PRECIOUS little has actually been done by DSOC [now DSA] in the Democratic party," as stated in your editorial (ITT, April 7). While we are not doing as much as we would like to be able to do in Michigan, our state locals have also been having some success in electoral politics, through: 1) supporting campaigns of DSA members running for office, 2) gaining DSA membership of those who already hold elective office, and 3) developing a Democratic Agenda for Michigan cities and for the state.

We have had many DSA members running for, or elected to office in Michigan: Joe Madison, for Detroit City Clerk (lost); Lowell Peterson, Ann Arbor City Council (won); Zolton Ferency, Sherry Finkbeiner, and Phil Balbeck, Ingham County Commissioners (won); Rufus Griffin, Detroit District Court Judge (primary to be held); Perry Bullard, U.S. House of Representatives (primary to be held); and Zolton Ferency, Michigan Governor (primary to be held). Many public officials joined DSA after they were elected to office; examples are Maryanne Mahaffey, Detroit City Council; David Evans, State Representative; Perry Bullard, State Representative; and Mildred Jeffrey, Wayne State University Board of Governors. More than 50 DSA members hold elected positions in the state and county Michigan Democratic Parties. Finally, Michigan DSA plans to hold a statewide conference in the fall of 1982 to develop its long-range Democratic Agenda strategy so that we can increase our electoral activity and success.

It has always been the policy of DSOC [DSA] to work openly within the Democratic party as democratic socialists. We argue that electoral law and political history militate against third-party success, and that some of our strongest potential supporters are still to be found within the Democratic party. And we have had some success in promoting and electing democratic socialists to office as Democrats.

We also applaud the electoral success of the Citizens Party. Many of our members have helped support the Citizens Party candidates in our state.

—Karen Beckwith
—Joe Finkbeiner
Co-Chairs, Michigan DSA
Detroit, Mich.

IMAGINE MY SURPRISE WHEN I FOUND out that according to Bruce Allen (ITT, April 14) "that rank-and-file DSA members are barred from taking part in electoral politics."

This comes as quite a shock. I joined DSOC in 1973 and am now finishing my second term as a state representative in the Maine legislature. When I ran in 1978 and 1980 I received help from both Jack Clark and Jim Chapin, then directors of DSOC. Allen is right about the fact that labor has its favorite candidates in Democratic primaries. It just so happens that I've been chosen by "Big Labor" as their favorite candidate.

If Bruce Allen and *In These Times* would look around a bit they'd find several DSA members running in Democratic primaries with DSA support. That more DSA members should run I don't argue with, but stop ignoring those of us who have.

—Harlan Baker
Maine State Representative
Augusta, Maine

IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND why, in a socialist newspaper, Democratic Socialists of America and its major predecessor—the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee—have drawn so much criticism of late, while the Citizens Party has been praised so lavishly.

DSA, after all, has pulled off a rather startling feat. In a nation where socialism is a dirty word, it has formed a 10,000-member democratic socialist organization, with considerable strength in labor unions, minority and women's groups, among intellectuals and within the left wing of the Democratic party. DSA has numerous members holding congressional, state and mayoral offices; the Citizens Party has none. DSA has done major organizing for Solidarity Day, ERA and for the struggle against American intervention in El Salvador; the Citizens Party has not. Finally, DSA is a socialist organization. What, exactly, is the Citizens Party? (It may be small and sectarian, but it's not socialist.)

Brothers and sisters, for the first time in half a century, there exists a substantial democratic socialist organization in this country: Democratic Socialists of America. Its activities—electoral, agitational, educational—benefit us all. Isn't it time to stop carping and join it?

—Larry Wittner
Albany, New York.

Citizens Party

SEVERAL RECENT ITT EDITORIALS have addressed the critical need for socialists to engage in electoral politics ("When the going gets tough, the left must get going," January 27, "Citizens Party shows how it should be done," March 24 and "Campaigning for socialism," April 7). Common to all three editorials was a comparison between running left campaigns in the Democratic Party (via DSA) and running them in the Citizens Party or as independent efforts.

When making such comparisons, it is necessary that they be based on a full awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. Unfortunately, the April 7 editorial contained several misstatements about the Citizens Party that would lead ITT's readership to believe that the Citizens Party is not as strong as it is.

The editorial claimed that the Citizens Party has "far fewer members than DSA" (10,000 according to the editorial) when the Citizens Party is, in fact, larger

than DSA. There are currently 7,500 members on the Citizens Party's national roles, and there are an additional 9,800 contributors to the party. This combined figure of 17,300 does not include members who are registered directly with their states: California, for example, has 5,526 registered members and Pennsylvania has 5,200 (registered as the Consumer Party, our affiliate there). Nor does that figure account for members who have joined one of our 100-plus local chapters and whose names have yet to be sent to the national office. These numbers show that the Citizens Party is far from being smaller than DSA.

The editorial also asserted that the Citizens Party has "virtually no national organization." Well, it depends on how

It has always been the policy of DSOC to work openly as Democrats and socialists and we've had some successes.

you define "national organization." If you define it as having a visible public role, then the assertion is correct.

If, however, you include the following in the definition, then the assertion is very wrong: active chapters in 30 states; local party offices in eight cities (Albany, Chicago, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York City, Philadelphia, Portland, Ore., and the San Francisco Bay area); 58 campaigns in 14 states in 1981; more than 70 campaigns planned in 16 states so far in 1982 (and in seven of these states we did not run campaigns last year, and the 70 campaigns do not include the 26 we ran in Burlington, Vt., this past March), and a national office that provides administrative coordination and maintains intra-party communication—so that our local chapters know that their activities are not isolated occurrences but part of a national organization.

As the April 7 editorial did acknowledge, "there is no quicker way to attract members or to become known in a community than running for office." In a nutshell, this explains the health of the Citizens Party—our strongest chapters are those that have run campaigns. Additionally, running campaigns is the only way to gain the requisite experience so that in succeeding efforts your skills will have improved, along with your name-recognition, credibility and, most importantly, your vote totals come election day.

And that is another key factor to look at when contrasting electoral strategies—how this year's campaign relates to the one next year, and the one after that. It takes time to build an electoral organization and the corresponding credibility with the public. Short-term emphasis on a one-shot deal gets you nowhere in the long-term, much as corporations' interest in the short-term maximization of profits has had grave consequences for the long-term health of the nation.

What is happening locally with the Citizens Party, given the extent of the activity, translates into national development and growth for the party. It doesn't receive much national attention. It doesn't give us access to the national board rooms of unions or women's and minority organizations. And we can't pretend to compete for national leadership at this time.

But we are doing it locally. That's

where successful battles are being waged, and where progressive political leaders are gaining experience while at the same time affecting change. It is also where our candidates are being endorsed by local NOW chapters (in Virginia state legislative races, for example), where local labor leaders are our candidates (our school board candidate in Burlington, Vt., who received 44 percent of the vote is the secretary-treasurer of the IAM local, and our Davenport, Iowa school board candidate who lost by just 88 votes last year is a local UAW CAP chair), and where we're getting support from the black community (our city council campaign in Atlanta, for example, was initially a predominantly white effort, but ended with the active endorsement of Julian Bond, came within 1 percent of winning the campaign and has created an organization that is running black candidates for state legislature this year and has an active spokesperson in John Lewis, a prominent civil rights activist). And besides, how many national political leaders just appear on the scene without having established some local base of support, without having governed elsewhere on a smaller scale?

So, in the strategic debate about electoral work within or outside the Democratic party, it is important to take into account the factors mentioned above. But each strategy should be pursued. Only time will tell which produces the better results.

—Rick LaRue
National Director, Citizens Party
Washington, D.C.

PERIODICALLY ITT EDITORIALLY stresses the importance of electoral action, so it comes as no surprise to read "Campaigning for socialism" (April 7) with its evident disappointment in DSA's lack of commitment to participation in the electoral arena. What is surprising is the extent to which ITT remains imbued with the very same perspective that vitiates DSA's electoral potential. While ITT does offer some praise to the grassroots organizing that is the prerequisite of any serious and sustained campaigning for social justice, an elitist, top-down strategy is implicit in the prominence and lovingly detailed descriptions given to such things as DSA's merger convention. Your measure for success merely substitutes the election of a "gallery of stars" for DSOC's recruitment of a "gallery of stars." Your target remains the leadership of purported key constituencies instead of organizing from the bottom up a self-activating, anti-corporate movement in politically disengaged communities and neighborhoods based on partisan electoral responses to immediate issues. To show that you're serious about campaigning, please run more stories on door-to-door canvassing, phone banks, ballot access petitioning and litigation, bulk mailings, yard signs, in places like Seattle, Atlanta, Burlington.

—Jim Coonan
Citizens Party of Georgia
Atlanta

We agree that there is no quicker way to win support than running for office. That explains our good health.

Socialist Party USA

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE EDITORS of *In These Times* for their fine editorial on the need to run democratic socialists in elections in America ("Campaigning for socialism," *ITT*, April 7).

In the late '70s I joined the Socialist Party, USA, DSOC and NAM, but subsequently left the latter two when I discovered that they are not about running socialists for office, but rather for supporting pro-capitalist and very much anti-socialist, liberal politicians. I'm sorry, but I'm not about to abase my political beliefs by coming out for Carter, Kennedy or Mondale. I like the Citizens Party because they are at least challenging capitalism. However, they do not openly call for democratic socialism, and thus fail to do the critical job of popularizing the concept in America. Only the Socialist Party, USA, is doing that now, so my loyal devotion, time and work remains with the party of Debs and Thomas. They are the genuine thing.

You are quite correct that it "would be a shame if timidity and political shortsightedness prevented [DSA] from" moving ahead by not placing democratic so-

Not being true believers, DSA will simply keep radicals and left-wing unionists in the Democratic party fold.

cialist ideas and candidates before the American people.

But I wonder if it could be more than timidity and shortsightedness that prevents them from doing so? Thinking from an international perspective, why is it that established, even majority Social Democratic parties in Western Europe refuse to go beyond the welfare state into a genuine economic democracy with the social ownership of all the major means of production and with workers' self-management rather than capitalist economies and a few bureaucratic-managed, state-owned industries? Is it merely timidity and shortsightedness, or something deeper and more fundamental? Many writers have suggested the latter—that Social Democrats do not really believe in democratic socialism; that they are choked by careerist fears that put keeping a parliamentary seat by not rocking the boat ahead of taking a risk to put democratic socialism before the electorate, which would advance the cause but possibly cost them their jobs and prestige; that, in fact, social democracy and democratic socialism today are two separate ideologies.

The same reasons may be why DSA here in the U.S. never has and never will do any more than keep radicals and left-wing unionists inside the Democratic party fold. Maybe they don't really believe in democratic socialism. For example, the Socialist Party, USA, calls for ownership of the energy industry under workers' and consumers' control. The most DSOC has ever called for is a publicly-owned energy company to compete with but not re-

place the energy oligopolies. Perhaps DSA bigwigs like Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Cal.) or William Winpisinger, head of the Machinists' union, are afraid of losing their positions and prestige if they ever were to do something so radical as come out and really stump for socialism! I'm sure careerism and opportunism are not just native to Western Europe. Perhaps social democracy and democratic socialism really are different. I know what the Social Democrats, USA, from which DSOC and now DSA stemmed is not socialist at all. Surely the DSA is today more left-wing than when they were SDUSA, but have they really changed all that much?

The only genuinely democratic socialist political party in America that runs candidates and isn't ashamed or afraid of who they are or what they stand for, has my vote and my efforts—the Socialist Party, USA.

—Donald F. Busky
Local Chairperson,
Socialist Party of Greater Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Pa.

Democrats for Change

YOUR APRIL 7 EDITORIAL CONTINUED your useful critique of the newly-merged DSA's reluctance to get its feet wet in the mainstream of electoral politics.

You quoted a merger convention delegate arguing that DSA candidacies were not possible because there is "no base now for a socialist proposal." An odd statement indeed for an organization that likes to define itself as the "left wing of the possible."

Opponents of electoral work often talk as though the only possibilities are an abstract advocacy of "socialism," on the one hand, or tailing after liberal milquetoasts on the other. In fact both of these approaches amount to the same thing—political opportunism. The first approach avoids the responsibility of political leadership by isolating oneself from the real political debate. The second approach avoids the responsibility to advance the debate.

In our view, socialists do not enter politics to urge theoretical programs, but to present a specific analysis of emerging political issues, and to make a concerted effort to clarify those issues for the electorate. The goal should be to advance working-class values, consciousness and power throughout society.

We should campaign as peace candidates. But we must strive to distinguish ourselves clearly from those who seek to separate the question of nuclear arms from the unjust world order, supported primarily by the United States, that makes the existence of such arms inevitable.

We should campaign as labor candidates. But we must clearly distinguish ourselves from those friends of labor who have bartered away the gains of a generation of working people in exchange for the hollowest of promises.

We should campaign in support of the important "social" issues of the day. But we should distinguish ourselves clearly from the hypocritical corporate liberals who use their support for a few easy issues like the ERA to cover their subservience to special interests on everything that matters most.

We should campaign for racial unity by fighting hard on the issues that concern working people the most—issues like crime, schools and city services. We must distinguish ourselves sharply from politicians of all nationalities who use racial rhetoric to disguise their own corruption and failure to deliver. The left must be

willing to declare war not only on politicians who pander to white racism, but on corrupt black leaders such as those who oversee the abject suffering of the minority population of our city of Cleveland.

A real breakthrough demands many campaigns. The issues demand a many-sided attack in a wide variety of political contexts. Those of us who believe in this work must organize on a national basis now—regardless of our present organizational affiliations.

—Bruce C. Allen
Democrats for Change
Cleveland, Ohio

The editor replies

IN OUR APRIL 7 EDITORIAL WE SAID that the merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM) in Detroit, March 20-21, created the largest socialist organization in the United States and the one with the greatest potential for bringing socialist principles and social goals into the mainstream discourse of American political life. We take this also as our purpose in publishing an independent socialist newspaper, so we are deeply concerned that everything possible be done to realize the potential of the new Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

That is why we took a hard look at DSA's record in developing a strategy for creating an independent base of power within the Democratic party, and why we compared it to the Citizens Party, which is based on the premise that a third party can be built successfully in this country from the ground up.

This was not our first discussion of the two approaches. In 1980, when Barry Commoner ran as the Citizens Party candidate for president, we applauded the way in which he discussed social control of investment as an immediate and relevant issue to millions of Americans, but we noted that few people would (and few did) take seriously a candidacy so far out of the mainstream of politics and with such obviously dismal prospects. At the same time we noted DSOC's dilemma, caused in part by its concentration on the presidency, of being in the Democratic party but with a membership that had little or no desire to support Jimmy Carter for re-election. In 1980, some DSOC members supported Commoner, some supported Carter and probably most did neither. We did not argue that DSOC should have been unconcerned about who the Democratic presidential candidate should be, but we did say that the only way to have an effective voice within the Democratic party was to have a bloc of legislative officeholders—members of Congress and state and local legislators—committed to a common left program and with strong popular support.

We know, as Karen Beckwith and Joe Finkbeiner point out in their letter, and Harlan Baker does in his, that there are DSA members in public office, some of whom have run as DSOC members with the organization's support. And, as we observed in our April 7 editorial, we know that several leftists in Congress and elsewhere have become DSA members after being elected. That is all to the good, but it does not address the fact that as a national organization, DSA has no discernible strategy for creating an independent base of power within the Democratic party, which is the point we made. If DSA had such a strategy, it would, for example, have proposed a federal budget of its own as a true alternative to the Reagan administration's budget—something that the Democrats now in Congress, with the notable exception of those in the Congressional Black Caucus, have not

done and will not do if left to their own resources. DSA would then use this budget, along with other proposals consistent with the interests of the labor movement, women, blacks and others, as a common platform for candidates for Congress and other legislative offices in various Democratic primaries.

In short, the national organization would provide leadership to its local groups and members, rather than relying on the local groups' uncoordinated and haphazard initiatives.

A national organization that hopes to play a significant role in American political life must enunciate its principles in a way that resonates with popular concerns, develop a program of specific proposals that speak to the immediate problems facing working people and then begin building a legislative contingent that can propose legislation and challenge the prevailing operating principles of the vast majority of officeholders. DSOC took the first step in this direction for the 1978 Democratic mid-term convention, and Michael Harrington provided the basis for a current program in his speech at the April 16-17 Democratic Agenda conference in Los Angeles, but there is as yet no evidence that DSA is moving to follow through by running a group of candidates in selected congressional and state legislative districts.

DSA is positioned to do this because the Democratic primaries are open, relatively easy to contest and, if won, provide a realistic chance for election. And because DSA has been successful in recruiting many experienced and skilled leftists now in public or union office, the addition of a dozen or two congressional and state legislators would make it an exciting new force in American politics.

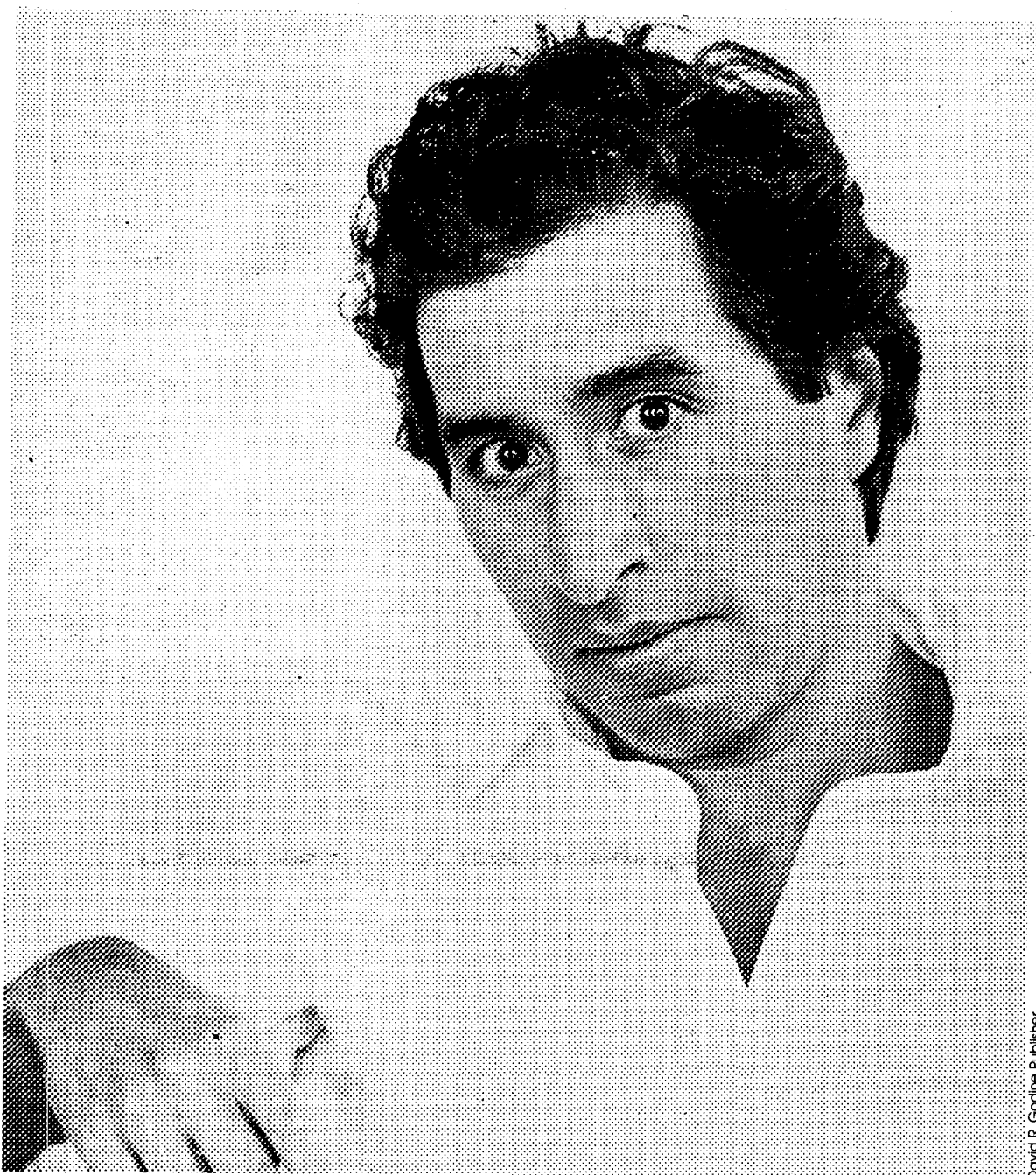
Because of its ground-up third party approach, the Citizens Party cannot hope to play much of a role in national policy debate, but it has shown in some places that it is possible to run coordinated local campaigns for a range of offices without elaborate organization and with little or no money. In the long run a viable left

The striking thing about the emerging socialist left is the number of "stars" who are ready to identify with it.

will need to build strong constituency organizations based on consistent work in local communities and not dependent on media exposure and the vast sums of money required for media campaigns. The Citizens Party may make a substantial contribution in this area if it doesn't succumb to the peculiarly American-style workerism—evident in Jim Coonan's letter—that sees anyone who has succeeded in gaining a position of leadership in a mainstream organization as hopelessly corrupt. That kind of purity requires failure to sustain it. A successful movement, on the other hand, must always run the risk of corruption. The striking thing about the emerging socialist left in this country today, however, is the increasing number of "stars" who have gotten into leadership positions without the help of any left organization, but who are nevertheless willing and even anxious to identify with the socialist left and help build it. That augurs well for a popular new socialist left in the '80s. ■

ETHNIC LITERATURE

Hidden costs of one Chicano's education



Richard Rodriguez has justified a cruelly stunted life by portraying it as necessary.

Hunger of Memory
By Richard Rodriguez
Godine, 195 pp., \$13.95

By Paul Skenazy

Hunger of Memory is two related texts—Richard Rodriguez' life story and his polemics against bilingual education and affirmative action. While denying that his career is "the typical Hispanic-American life," Rodriguez hopes that his book might be a "parable" of "a middle-class man." But it is the polemics that have earned the book attention and that probably account for its publication. It is no accident that it was reviewed by *Time* on the education page.

Rodriguez argues that schools are and should remain instruments of assimilation. Education is instruction in the culture's values, in what Rodriguez calls the "public" as against the "private" world. For Rodriguez education for the poor and non-English speaker inevitably involves a recognition of the necessary distance between home and world, childhood and adulthood, one language and another. In his view bilingualists are sentimental because they urge a continuation of the illusion that one can maintain both the public and private self, or at least bridge the two in

a meaningful way through language.

Affirmative action, he argues, is wrong for two reasons. It is based on a false analogical model. Because of its sources in the Southern civil rights struggles of the '60s, affirmative action equates race and poverty, concerning itself only with ethnic identity. And by pushing for university level programs, affirmative action's supporters ignore the fact that the real work of reform must occur at the primary grade levels. The university is not equipped to repair the maimed lives or replace the lost years of a ghetto child. So instead affirmative action primarily aids the middle-class ethnic student like Rodriguez himself, the one least in need of special encouragement.

There are obvious problems with this analysis. One is that Rodriguez is often simply wrong—about reformers ignoring primary education, for example. He has not bothered to do his homework on many of the subjects he professes to, in his words, "brood on" most deeply: language acquirement, socialization, class and race, language and culture.

But most of the time Rodriguez is less wrong than just not quite right. He frequently mis-

represents ideas by simplifying them or removing them from the historical and social circumstances that give them significance. Many of his statements might have served as useful correctives for the sometimes misguided, sometimes unconsciously racist, sometimes only overly idealistic assumptions of educational reformers. But he throws the baby out with the bath water, constructing an argument from the abuse.

What makes Rodriguez' argument difficult to discuss is his dependence on the personal for his proof. His own experience becomes his statistics, his story a

kind of Song of Myself without the poetry. He speaks so solipsistically and defensively that he fails to see how his conclusions are guaranteed by the meaning system he has constructed.

The story begins when his teachers, Irish nuns, visit his parents to ask them not to speak Spanish at home because it limits his progress learning English. His parents comply, allowing Rodriguez to understand the "great lesson of school, that I had a public identity." He consumes large numbers of books. He develops a love of poetry and language (English, that is, and the Latin of the church liturgy). He delights in being a "scholarship boy" who knows all the answers. He goes to Stanford, Berkeley, Columbia, England. He wins Fulbright and NEH grants, teaches at Berkeley and receives job offers from around the country.

There are losses. Intimacy diminishes when his parents need to speak English in his presence. He grows more and more estranged from them and eventually feels as homeless in Sacramento as in the British Museum. He speaks less and less Spanish. He spends years fearful of his body. He cannot share his writing with his family.

But he assures us that while the costs were high, the payoff was still higher. He was forced to shut "the screen door" behind him when he "left home for school," but thanks to those nuns he is now a "citizen in a crowded city of words."

The theme of Rodriguez' life is separation. His sense of identity is founded on dichotomies—home and the screen door vs. the outside world, Spanish vs. "words" (English), private vs. public. He assumes a universe of mutually exclusive categories modeled on the initial splits of self and community demanded for his success. He then justifies his personal estrangement by arguing its social necessity. And because there is a patent, a partial truth to all these statements, Rodriguez can find substance for the reality of his isolation.

Rodriguez' efforts to distinguish himself, in both senses of the word, lead to the disastrous contradictions at the center of this confused and, in the end, sad book. Most of his dichotomies collapse when pressed. Are we always the same in public, or with different publics? Isn't there something public in the "private" action of an adult with a child, a child with a parent? And private in the meetings of strangers, a talk with a psychologist, an autobiography? Can intimacy

be divorced from the language in which it is expressed, when language is so much of the substance of feeling, of thought, of culture?

Hidden anger.

Rodriguez' argument seems to me based on a horrible fact and failure. The fact is that he has had to endure a split between the family he comes from and his own success, and he has had to sacrifice much of his inner life. But worse than the fact is the failure of awareness that it has produced. In justifying his life, Rodriguez proposes to institutionalize a kind of cultural schizophrenia.

This scholarship boy might have argued for a more relevant, more real, more life-based education, but he hasn't. Instead he sees schools as our first dunking in the cold bath of reality, preparing us for a world separate from love and feeling and human relationship. He never asks why this kind of world, what such a world means, who controls it.

Hunger of Memory reveals a life stunted. The book masks an anger that is enormous, a guilt that must almost be self-consuming. At times, Rodriguez seems at the edge of realizing how he has victimized and cheated himself. But he directs his anger against reformers and against his parents for untoward demands on him, never against the society that takes the greatest toll of his life and spirit.

Richard Rodriguez' life demonstrates what Paulo Freire speaks of as the oppressed population's identification with the oppressor. The real product of the kind of education Rodriguez proposes is Rodriguez himself—the desensitized, lonely individual, living on an ascetic diet of white dreams that hasn't yet quite eliminated the aftertaste of community and love from his tongue, but that has convinced him to deny himself the tang of storytelling. Rodriguez seldom lets himself be intimate with the events he recounts, seldom lets us be intimate with the family he renounces. Instead, events and family become examples.

The man too proud to take a job he saw as a handout now lives off his arguments against affirmative action. His fame as a writer is dependent on his Hispanic-American identity. Some people can buy exemption from history. But not a Mexican-American from Sacramento who wants to make it as a writer, however middle-class he says he is.

Paul Skenazy teaches American literature at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Ethnic voices muted in today's publishing

Hunger of Memory has generally received high praise from white reviewers. Paul Zweig on the front page of the *New York Times Book Review* called it a "superb," "remarkably moving and vividly detailed" autobiography written with "exquisite clarity." But many Mexican-Americans are angered by the way this book has been received while other works have had

trouble finding a home, let alone national literary recognition. *Hunger of Memory* is the first book by a Mexican-American published by a major eastern press in more than 20 years. And it is ironic, say these critics, that the one Mexican-American work to make it argues against bilingualism, uses little Spanish in its text, and is explicitly written for a gringo audience.

There is a flourishing Chicano writing community, primarily in the West. It involves several periodicals, such as *El Tecolote* and *De Colores*, and many small presses such as Tonatiuh International and Pajarito. Mexican-American writers point with pride to excellent works like Ron Arias' novel, *The Road to Tamazunchale*, or poetry available in the periodicals (much of the finest was recently collected in *Fiesta in Atzlan*, edited by Toni Epringham). But while sales of such works are increasing and more of the writing is being read and discussed in univer-

Continued on facing page



Regional themes and settings (above, a Southwest desert scene) are too exotic for many eastern publishers.

sities, eastern publishers remain cautious. Publication of Latin American authors has greatly increased in the past two years, but Chicano works continue to be ignored.

Arturo Islas is a Mexican-American who has tried to challenge this closed publishing structure, so far without success. Raised in El Paso, Texas, Islas is an associate professor of American literature at Stanford, where he teaches a range of courses in Anglo as well as in Chicano literature and bilingual writing and directs the Stanford program for Chicano graduate students. For many years he has tried to interest publishers in his book, *The Rain God*, (formerly *Day of the Dead*).

"Writers and critics who know of it recommend *The Rain God* enthusiastically to major publishers," Islas said to *In These Times*. "The editors read it, seem to like it, and pass it on to others. But finally the publishers say no. I get encouraging letters. They praise large sections of the manuscript. But they seem convinced that there is no market for writing like mine."

The Rain God is about a family in El Paso. It ranges in mood from the stoic power of the grandmother's trek from Mexico through sexual farce to the tragic horror of a relative's violent death. Surrounding these lives is the Texas landscape and the lonely and beautiful desert.

Islas resists labeling the book as an autobiography or a novel. "It is six related tales, each about one or more characters who are part of the family. I think of *The Rain God* as like *Winesburg, Ohio*—what is that, a novel, or stories, or autobiography?"

"In fact, one of the objections I keep getting from New York editors is that it isn't more traditionally autobiographical. But one of my purposes is just to not have the kind of central intelligence that dominates our Anglo tradition in America. We're trying to get away from that literary endorsement of individualism as a way of life. Individualism and privacy are alien to the culture I write about. In later volumes one of the characters leaves this family world and has to cope with being alone. But problems of a

separate identity after such a childhood are just the ones I want people to notice."

The Rain God is the first of three volumes, though each stands as a complete text. The second is finished, and Islas has already done several sketches for the third. But he so far cannot interest an eastern publisher, and he has resisted efforts to publish the book with a smaller, western press. "I know there is a national audience for Chicano writing as there is for black and Asian-American and other so-called minority literature. But no one will believe that until a few of us can get published and receive attention from the establishment critics."

Ruth Cohen, Islas' literary agent does not attribute the problem to any overt racism in the publishing community—she points to her success with works by Al Young and Joyce Carol Thomas, for example—but thinks Islas' book doesn't have the "extraordinary element," the angle, that would appeal to editors.

"It isn't a book for *gringos*,"

Cohen said. "It isn't a book that is sensational. It is a book that happens to be about Mexican-Americans, Mexican-Americans who are not the ethnics that people assume they are in their stereotypes. Richard's [Rodriguez] book caught a perfect moment. He tells a story in which he rises above the stereotype, but he still talks in the old categories. So his book lets people pat him on the back and say, 'Good boy, Richard, you've done so well for yourself.'"

Chicanos are not alone in their suspicion about the publishing industry's attitudes toward minorities. *Click Song* by John Williams, for example, has aroused considerable controversy recently for its story of the careers of two writers, one white and one black, and their respective successes. While both win critical acclaim, the white man's books win awards, sales, and movie contracts, while the black writer's work is given only mild encouragement. Williams parodies the publishing industry in the form of a master computer that determines what should

**A book using
barrio slang
may be as
all-American
as *Huck Finn*,
but corporate
publishers still
won't take a
risk on a small
audience.**

and should not be published based on market analysis: black works sell well for a time, then feminist works, and so on. Williams has not written a *roman a clef*, but *Click Song* has been reviewed as a sign of a new suspicion of the industry among many black writers.

What does seem clear is that with the increasing ties of publishing with film and marketing, and the larger corporate makeup of the industry, potentially high-risk works like Islas' will have a harder and harder time finding a home. Islas and other Chicanos think they have a right to "claim America," as Maxine Hong Kingston once put it, through their art. And to do that, they need the chance to lay claim to an audience.

"In the future," Islas said, "there are going to be more and more good books by Chicanos, in a range of styles and forms. Some of those books will be in a language that mixes standard English and Mexican Spanish and *calo*, *barrio* slang. That mix is as American as *Huck Finn*."

—P.S.

Bikers

Continued from page 24

I started slowly. "There's lots of types of socialism, some good, some bad. In some places they just nationalize the companies and run them like the past. In others they try to give the workers control..."

Ivan interrupted me excitedly. "That's what we want. You'll see our plant tomorrow. We don't let any foremen in the plant anymore. They do their stuff from the front office and we run the plant ourselves. They just tell us what they need and we do it for them. We think that's worker's control."

"We went to a union conference, but were pretty disappointed," he said. "They told us all about the problems in the country but then they always ended up saying we should vote for the Democrats. Hell, that's not enough."

"We went to the conference to learn how to do our jobs as union reps better and we didn't get

enough of that."

Then C.J. added, "The only guy we thought was cool was ol' Vic Reuther. He talked about the 1937 sitdown strikes and how they fought GM and the police and the National Guard. Vic Reuther's a good guy. In fact, he was even better than ol' Fee-del."

"Ol' Fidel?" I blurted out.

"Well, Dan," he said in his excited manner, "you gotta understand I'm a street person, see. Hung around the streets all my life, used to talkin' with most anyone. So these cats from the university used to come around and rap with me."

"Well, one day these cats come up to me, see, and said, 'Hey C.J., how'd you like to go to Cuba?' I said, 'Sure. Where's Cuba?'"

"Turns out these dudes is from somethin' called the Venceremos Brigade and I went with them down to Cuba to cut cane. I thought it was pretty cool what them folks is doin' down there."

"One day this guy comes walkin' through the cane fields up to us and it turned out to be Fee-del himself, with beard, cigar, fatigue jacket and all.

Well, he gave us this speech, see. But it turned out to be pretty boring, 'cause all he talked about was how many tractors they had and how many tons of cane everyone was gonna cut that year."

He stopped to reflect. "Yeah, Vic Reuther's a much heavier dude."

Ivan picked up, "So C.J. come back and filled us in on a few things and we've been workin' on it from there."

Splitting time.

The table was loaded with empty beer bottles by now and I realized the bar was slowly getting empty. The stripper who I had first noticed when we came in had just finished another routine and had gone over to a table by herself. She slouched forward, resting her head in her hands.

"Hang on a second," Ivan said as he got up and walked toward the woman. I saw him put his hand up to caress the back of her neck. A minute later they both came back to our table.

"This is Midgy," he said. "She's my ol' lady. We're gonna have to split, 'cause she already

worked another bar all day before she come over here."

I returned my attention to C.J., who was giving a strong finish to his explanation of what they wanted in the plant. "Unions have done a helluva job everywhere and we want a strong one in our place. But it's gotta be hip. Y'know, up with the times."

We got up to leave. I took the remaining beer in my bottle, raised it and toasted, "Here's to the new union."

Ivan corrected me. "Here's to a socialist union."

We left the bar in satisfied silence. As I walked toward the pick-up with Lyle, I asked Ivan a haphazard question about what they did around Columbus for entertainment.

"Sometimes we go over to Ohio State and beat up the students," he said matter-of-factly. Then he and Midgy went over to his bike, climbed on and rode off.

Dan MacLeod works in the health and safety department of the United Auto Workers. This story is true; some of the names have been changed.

INDIANS

When dream worlds collide

A hunter of the Beaver tribe sees a different land than company engineers for the pipeline do.

Maps and Dreams

By Hugh Brody
Pantheon, 297 pp., \$16.50

By Stephan Schwartzman

Maps and Dreams challenges some widely held misconceptions about Indians and other so-called subsistence producers, and in the process offers an honest, engaging account of life in a culture organized on very different terms than our own. But perhaps most important, Brody pays careful historical and ethnographic attention to the Indians' relations with and resistance to white society, so that he can give an account neither fatalistic nor romantic of their prospects for continued autonomy.

In debunking the myth of the "vanishing race" he also debunks the myth of the inevitability of progress.

Brody's focus comes from his experience in documenting needs and concerns of indigenous peoples so that they can affect public policy. Because of "land use and occupancy studies" he did for the Inuit Eskimo tribe, Brody was invited to work on a similar project on Beaver and other Indian groups. The study was funded by the Canadian government as a response to the Indians' opposition to the Alaska Highway natural gas pipeline. His job was to "map and explain all the ways in which Indian...peoples have used their land within living memory."

Brody presents his results in a way that shows the cultural clashes behind the questions in such a project. There is a white people's and an Indian people's view of what constitutes productive, reasonable use of the land. For a white to learn the Indian's view, he must first learn to see his own assumptions as only one set of possibilities among many. So Brody tells of his own process of discovery. In odd-numbered chapters Brody recounts incidents from his stay with one group of Beaver, incidents that broke through the preconceptions preventing him from comprehending the Indians' way of life. In even-numbered chapters he summarizes the ecology and history of northeastern British Columbia, the succession of treaties (he shows how these were based on misunderstanding and devaluing of Indian economy and society), and the present situation.

With letters and reports from the early 19th century, Brody brings out an early and consistent view of the Indians as poverty stricken, destitute and shiftless.

The opinion endures, as a 1933 official account testifies: "There are 170 Indians in the band, belonging to the Beaver tribe, and they are certainly a very poor type of Indian. They have become diseased, inbred and through poverty they are simply on their last legs. They have absolutely nothing. I have never seen a band of Indians that had less."

Conveniently for white economic interests, the brilliantly flexible and well-balanced hunting and trapping economy remained invisible to whites. So Indians, first seen as obstacles to development, also justified the process. Civilization offered ways to raise the Indians from the marginality and misery imposed on them by their technical incapacity to exploit the environment in a rational (profitable) manner. It passed unnoticed that the rationality of Indian cultures was—and, as Brody shows, still is—not the rationality of profit.

Take, for example, a hunt that Brody went on. For weeks before, men talked in a seemingly desultory fashion of going on a hunt "tomorrow," speculating on what animals there might be to hunt, where they might be found, who would go, all in an



From JAMES BAY PROJECT: A RIVER DROWNED BY WATER, by German artists R. Wittenborn and C. Biegert (Montreal Museum of Fine Art, 1981). The expanded exhibit catalog reproduces photos and drawings by the artists, who visited a Cree settlement threatened by a hydroelectric project in James Bay, Canada.

apparently vague and contradictory way.

To Brody this looked like poor planning. No one seemed to know when or where or if the hunt would really happen, or what outcome was expected. Then suddenly, for no discernable reason, it had already begun. After participating in many such hunts, he came to under-

stand what is involved in our own notions of planning activity. For us, discrete variables must be weighed one against another to make the best use of alternate means to desired ends. But this, he suggests, is inappropriate to the hunter's task. The hunter must take into account a large number of shifting and elusive factors—the weather, animal movements, other people's land use patterns.

"To make a good, wise, sensible hunting choice," he writes, "is to accept the interconnection of all possible factors, and avoids the mistake of seeking rationally to focus on any one consideration that is held as primary. What is more, the decision is taken in the doing: there is no step or pause between theory and practice."

Power of dreams.

In this hunt the men told Brody about the traditional dream maps that form a key symbol of the Beavers' relationship to their land. Traditionally hunters dreamed animal trails and made dream kills, then found the trails and killed the animals in the waking world. Strong dreamers could dream the sources of game and even the trails to heaven, which converge at the point where all game trails meet. Maps were made by powerful dreamers so that everyone could see the trails to heaven and know how

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The durable myth of the vanishing race

The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions

By Christopher M. Lyman
Pantheon, 159 pp., \$14.95

Edward Curtis' photographs of Indians have become part of our national iconography. Most recently the photographs, taken in the first decades of the century, have popped up in posters defending Indian rights. Previous generations collected them in special editions and prints. Lyman now tells us, not only

that the photographs lie—we've known for some time that Curtis faked some of the moments he caught—he also explains the logic behind Curtis' stylization.

Lyman's careful analysis of the photos, which are reproduced beautifully in this low-priced edition, shows how they were altered. For instance Curtis apparently carried props with him; the same feathered bonnets and regalia appear in a variety of tribes from his life-



Curtis' interpreter, a Crow Indian, as he normally dressed (above) and as photographed by Curtis (below left).

long survey of American Indian cultures. (This was a monumental commercial project with its own fascinating history, also well-told here.) Curtis also scratched out of negatives modern items such as a car at a ceremony and a mass-produced object lying in a teepee. He staged certain ceremonies. He undressed Indian men whose normal clothing was jeans and flannel shirts, and he draped Indian women revealingly in blankets. His framing was aimed at the picturesque rather than the ethnographic, so that a riverbank rather than the Indian village behind it dominated the frame. (One of the side benefits of this book is a historical overview of aesthetic values in American popular photography.)

Lyman is careful not to call Curtis a liar. Curtis believed that Indians were noble, ahistorical primitives whose very

existence was destroyed by contact with historical and progressing civilizations. He was valiantly trying to capture "the Indians" as they once had been, at what he saw as a point of extinction. And he was far from alone. Consider praise lavished on him by the *Seattle Times* in 1903: "He changed the degenerated Indian of today into the fancy-free king of a yesterday that has long since been forgotten in the calendar of time." Teddy Roosevelt, who was fond of saying that in nine out of 10 cases a good Indian was a dead Indian, was one of his biggest fans.

Lyman doesn't let us off with easy contempt for the errors of the past, either. Curtis' photographs have endured, he argues, because the myth has also endured—even within modern indigenous movements for cultural regeneration.

—Pat Aufderheide

Hit records in an old tradition

By Kalamu ya Salaam

Rap records are hot sellers. Heavy funk rhythms, booming bass lines and catchy horn or guitar riffs mixed with a near hypnotic sing-song, semi-melodic vocal line on top are their basic ingredients. They are undeniably the best dance records around.

Most rap songs are also pun-filled (and often prurient) parables to hedonism. There is a notable exception—"B Movie" by Gil Scott-Heron. Scott-Heron, a novelist and poet, is also a major recording artist with 12 albums. He is a link in a continuum of African-American rappers/poets.

"We relate what we're doing now to a thousand-year-old tradition, the griot tradition," Scott-Heron said to *These Times*. Griots (gree-ohs) are West African historians-story tellers-singers who preserve and perpetuate the history, culture and values of their people. "That tradition is part of a chain of oral historians. We compare what we do directly to the blues poems of the Harlem Renaissance done by Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen and others."

Anyone who has been touched by the power of a black Baptist preacher delivering a biblical message over the keen accompaniment of an organ or piano-led choir, or the ecstatic punctuations of "amen"s, and "well, well, wells" coming from the deacons and deaconesses; anyone who has studied the oratorical artistry of a Rev. C.L. Franklin, or marveled at the exhortatory powers of a Malcolm X even on the restrictive confines of a vinyl record; anyone familiar with the witticisms of the pool shark in the corner barroom or the wisdom of "mama say" in the household understands the popularity and power of a good rap. It is precisely the fact that rapping is woven into black life that contributes to the popularity of rap records, and perhaps contributes to its exploitation in the music industry.

Scott Heron represents the most socially conscious element of this tradition. Some artists insist that "message" is not "in" anymore, and that they wouldn't be able to get recording contracts or concerts if they did "heavy" material. Scott-Heron commented, "We work pretty much whenever we want to. I think many of those artists couldn't do it or wouldn't do it—that's why they say that. It's a cop out."

It don't come easy.

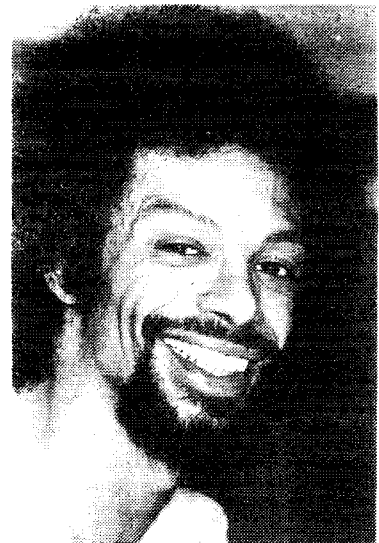
He is also a more accomplished artist than most of his peers, with a message-music that is popular and political, but not hackneyed. He argues that, although there is an art to producing propaganda and to being an effective politician, it is not the same art as producing poetry and song. And inspiration must

be matched with education.

"A lot of people think that I started writing poetry one day and songs the next day. But I've been playing piano since I was 15 and I've been writing poetry since I was 17. I'm 32 now and I have all of those years behind me," said Scott-Heron, who also has a master's degree in creative writing from John Hopkins University.

"I think that you have to be qualified, educated in a given area, to do whatever it is you do. A lot of musicians don't know much about the history of the music that they are playing. A lot of would-be poets don't know anything about our 200-year history of poetry in this country, as well as the oral tradition that takes us back to Africa. That's why I say some artists couldn't [create socially conscious art work], because they don't know how, or they wouldn't because they haven't tried."

Scott-Heron was lucky to be able to establish himself during the early '70s on noted producer Bob Thiele's Flying Dutchman label. He also, however, did the woodshedding necessary to create music whose popularity causes music industry executives to offer him contracts. "Arista



Steve Kagan

came looking for me; I didn't go looking for them. The arrangement that we made concerning the independence that we wanted in terms of putting our work together has never been challenged."

Message as hit.

Scott-Heron knows that doing what he wants to do within the context of today's economically hard-pressed music industry requires that his music sell to a public led to love commercialism, or as he aptly captured on a cut called "Show Bizness": *You're only as important to them as your latest hit. That's a precarious position for a plastic king to sit. The lawyer's game is double same. Your fate is in their hands. You're a millionaire without a dime and just don't understand.*

But he has successfully confronted that contradiction. His first major hit was "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised," followed by the bigger hit, "The Bottle," a chilling chronicle of the socially debilitating effects of alcoholism. And in "We Almost



© Cindy Karp/Minnesota Daily

Lost Detroit" Scott-Heron made an important statement about nuclear power based on a best-selling book of the same name.

When "angel dust" became a trendy and destructive street drug, it was Gil Scott-Heron who made the definitive anti-

angel dust statement: *He was groovin',/ and that was when he coulda sworn/ the room was movin'./ But that was only in his mind./ He was sailin'./ He never really seemed to notice vision failin'./ 'cause that was all part of the high./ Sweat was pourin'.*

IN THESE TIMES MAY 19-25, 1982 21
he couldn't take it./ The room was exploding—/ he might not make it./ Angel Dust—Please, children would you listen./ Angel Dust—Just ain't where it's at./ Angel Dust—You won't remember what you're missin', but down some dead end streets there ain't no turnin' back. "Angel Dust" became one of Scott-Heron's biggest hits.

On *Secrets*, the album that contained "Angel Dust," Scott-Heron also wrote a piece for coal miners: *Coal dust in your lungs, on your skin/and on your mind./ I've listened to the speeches,/but it occurs to me politicians just don't understand;/ the thoughts of isolation, ain't no sunshine underground./ It's like workin' in a graveyard three miles down.*

That's a lot of ground for a popular artist to cover. He is a black artist who does not limit his concerns to fit preconceived notions of what black issues are.

Scott-Heron's raps are sharply satirical and are delivered with a masterful timing. Until the recent release of "B Movie," "H2O Gate Blues," a commentary on the Watergate affair, was Gil's best known and most popular rap. "B Movie," on its way to surpassing the earlier piece, is a brilliant piece full of puns and put-downs that work off the names of notables in the Reagan

The rap songs of Gil Scott-Heron depend on a style of oratory woven into the fabric of black American life.

administration. For example, Reagan becomes "Reagun" and Alexander Haig becomes "Attila the Haig." Behind the comic relief there is serious criticism.

"The idea concerns the fact that this country wants nostalgia. They want to go back as far as they can, even if it's only as far as last week. Not to face now or tomorrow, but to face backwards," Scott-Heron said.

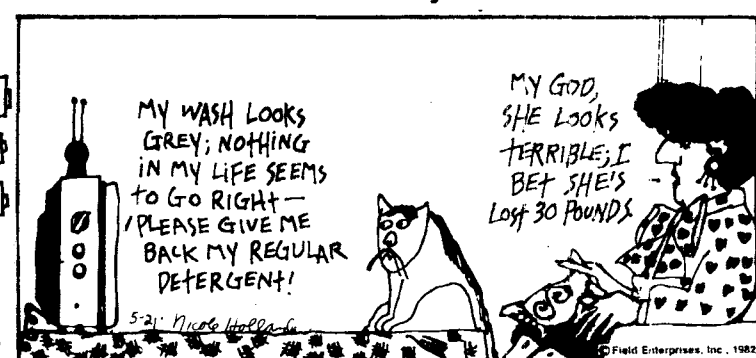
Scott-Heron shrugs off hostility to "B Movie's" opinions. "There have been people who have never liked what I did and they don't particularly like this. But so what?"

And there have been people who have never liked art to be sharply critical, and to express opinions on social and political questions. But, as Gil Scott-Heron would say, "so what?"

Kalamu ya Salaam, editor of The Black Collegian, won the 1981 ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award for excellence in writing about music. Recommended introductory Gil Scott-Heron albums: The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron, Secrets, Reflections.

by Nicole Hollander

SYLVIA



Blacks

Continued from page 14

anywhere." To the black insurgents, the radical left has often seemed fickle and self-righteous, concerned more with clarifying their own ideas about one issue like redlining, or about the global picture than about ongoing organizing for concrete gains. "Electoral politics is part of a larger organizing effort, a training ground," Owens says. "Radicals forget that things are at such a primitive level in some of our communities that people need to become involved in bringing pressure on the system, in order to learn what's going on. Also, in getting day-to-day help, for people in need of it, power still flows from the electorate.

"Democrats used to put together a

coalition of the have-nots to try to organize the society. The truth is that Democrats have stopped voter registration drives partly out of racism. Voter registration means registering blacks and Hispanics, and even white reform incumbents know that could threaten their own incumbency. But we have to understand that 51 percent of the people are utterly outside the electoral system as a result, and this keeps electoral politics from being a more powerful tool."

Owens' Central Brooklyn Mobilization has taken the lead in enunciating a set of principles for insurgent elected officials and their organizations. The group has issue-oriented criteria for endorsing candidates and for judging officeholders' legislative work, coupled with a reporting system that goes "back to the base," as Roger Green put it. As young potential candidates are socialized through this system, they learn to make such accountability the basis of their claims for support.

Of the black patronage set who won't go along, Owens says. "We have to go on building leadership in their communities despite them. It's phony to talk about a facade of unity among all elected blacks, whether or not they subscribe to these principles."

Most of all, the black insurgents talk about getting breathing space for their beleaguered constituencies—about the additional education and jobs that must be pried loose from the corporate economy on its own terms before people have time or skill to mount any more substantial challenge. To observe the desperate needs in a district like Owens', where 70 percent of the people live in public housing because nearly everything else lies burned or abandoned, where more than 30 percent of the families live below the poverty line and 90 percent have incomes of less than \$15,000, is to understand what he means. Owens' constituents got themselves a little more "breathing

space" recently, for example, when, responding to his leadership, they voted for Holtzman over her opponent by a margin of nearly 2.5 to 1, helping to elect a district attorney pledged to crack down on police brutality and improve the criminal justice system. Owens wishes more people on the left would devote time and money to such victories because of what they teach people about their potential.

"We would put out 1,000 notices of an anti-crime meeting with the candidate. Fifty people would come. They would talk to others afterward about it. We kept on. We proved you don't have to bring ice cream to senior citizens as long as you tell them the truth and try to deliver something that's real. They do watch. They do listen. And eventually they act."

Of such tenacity has the black insurgents' new power in the city been built. ■ *Jim Sleeper writes for the Village Voice, where a longer version of this article first appeared.*

CALENDAR

As a service to our readers and to disarmament organizations, **In These Times** is preparing a special **Disarmament Calendar** for the last issue in May and the first issue in June (5/26 and 6/2). We will feature events that center on disarmament issues occurring across the nation. Help us fill an entire page—don't let your event go unannounced. Call Angie Fa, Paul Ginger or Terry Thorson, (312) 489-4444, to reserve space now. The cost will be \$25 for 2 listings.

CHICAGO, IL

May 22

One-day conference: "The Relevance of Marxism: Studies in the History, Politics, Economy and Culture of Illinois." Saturday at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Sponsored by Marxist Educational Press. Keynote by John Coatsworth. Registration (\$10.00 faculty and employed, \$3.00 students and unemployed) beginning at 8:30 a.m., Rafael Cintron Ortiz Cultural Center, Building B, Lecture Center (west of corner of Halsted & Polk Sts., easy walking distance).

NEW YORK, NY

May 22

Salmon Show with Bob Carroll. Academic Freedom Benefit for Bertell Ollman in his suit against University of Maryland. 8 p.m., Schimmel Auditorium, Tisch Hall (NYU), 40 W. 4th St. \$10 donation (\$4 for students and unemployed). See ad in this issue.

May 23

Panel Discussion: Jews in Poland Today, Sunday

2 p.m. Participants: Abraham Blumberg, Lucjan Dobroszycki, Jerzy Warman, Lawrence Wexler. Moderator: Samuel Norich. Admission: \$3.50, students and seniors \$2. For information and reservations, (212) 860-1889 weekdays 9-5. The Jewish Museum, 5th Ave., at 92nd St., New York, NY 10028.

June 14

A nonviolent civil disobedience action will be held during the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament. The action will blockade the U.N. Missions of five major nuclear powers. Nonviolence training is required. For further info contact: June 14 CD Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012, (212) 777-4737.

BERKELEY, CA

May 22

Psychoanalysis and Social Action Saturday at U.C. Berkeley, 145 Dwinelle Hall, 9:30 a.m.-6 p.m. Sponsored by: Group for Critical Psychoanalysis. Keynote speaker—Joel Kovel, M.D., author of "The Age of Desire: Case Histories of a Radical Psychoanalyst." Panels on sexuality and the family, the nuclear question, community mental health, resistance to political activity. Donations requested (\$5-8). Information: Richard Bloom, (415) 549-2303.

WASHINGTON, DC

May 27

"U.S. Covert Operations Against Nicaragua: A Public Forum," panels on liabilities of covert operations and consequences of U.S. destabilization for Nicaragua. Keynote address by Senator Frank Church. Sponsored by the Campaign for Political Rights. 10 a.m.-4 p.m., Dirksen Senate

Office Building, Room 1202. Registration is free. Information: (202) 547-4705.

BOONE, IA

May 28-31

The 7th Annual Midwest Radical Therapy Conference will take place at Camp Hantessa in Boone, Iowa. Theme: "Using Radical Therapy for Social Change." Workshops and speakers on Radical Therapy, the draft, racism, sexism, the anti-nuclear struggle, networking and community-building and many more. Cost includes: food, lodging and child-care. Registration is \$75.00 in advance and \$85.00 on site. Write: Midwest Radical Therapy Conference, P.O. Box 521, Madison, WI 53701 or call Max at (608) 255-1448.

NASHVILLE, TN

May 29-30

Southern Democratic Socialist Education Conference at Scarritt College. Join Eddie James Carthan, Manning Marable, H.L. Mitchell and Andrea Young for plenary and workshop sessions on Democratic Socialism and the South. Registration is \$15. For information contact Bill Barclay, Democratic Socialists of America, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.

AMES, IA

May 30-31

Iowa Socialist Party state convention, Pioneer and Gallery Rooms, Memorial Union, ISU. Frank Zeidler, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, 1948-60; Tony Smith on "Deepening Crisis in U.S. Capitalism"; Antonio Ybarra of Nicaragua. *Northern Lights*. ISP, Box 924, Iowa City 52244.

BERKSHIRES, NY

June 4-6

The Berkshire Forum presents "Western Europe: Turmoil on the Left," discussed by Vicente Navarro—one of a series of expertly-led weekend vacation workshops in a delightful mountain retreat. Modern lodge. Fine food. Spring-fed swimming pond. Tennis. Write, call Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

BURLINGTON, VT

June 4-6

"What If We Ran the City? Seeking Democratic Solutions for Local Problems"—a conference sponsored jointly by New England Union for Radical Political Economics and the Mayor's Office, Burlington, Vt. Keynote address by Mayor Bernie Sanders, Friday evening, June 4; Workshops Saturday and Sunday; Party Saturday night. Place: Burlington City Hall. For information: Jan Schultz, 17 Bayview St., Burlington, Vt. 05401.

DURHAM, NC

August 15-22

The War Resisters League, Southeast, will hold an Organizers Training Program. For information and applications, contact WRL/SE, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701, (919) 682-6374.

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Paul Ginger.

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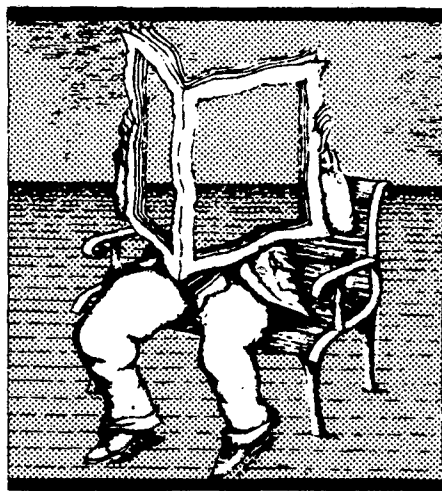
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ITT

Indians

Continued from page 20 to find them.

With this discovery, it became clear that the hunting economy of the Beaver is not an economy at all—not in the sense that we use the term to mean a separate aspect of society opposed to such categories as religion and government. Hunting has both cosmological significance and practical value.

Brody does not romanticize the Beaver conception of dreaming and hunting. While dream maps are important to present day Beaver conceptions of their relation to the land (as was illustrated when a man brought out an old and treasured dream map in a meeting with government officials and industry representatives to discuss the pipeline), people also say that no one has powerful dreams nowadays.

There are too many problems, they say—fights, drinking, lack of respect.

Brody describes some of these problems as well. He recounts a spree of drinking at the end of fall hunting that goes on for weeks. People drink to excess and fights and crises erupt frequently. But once the money runs out the drinking is over. People return to their lives with none of the struggle and temptation of urban alcoholism.

In this same spree two teenage boys injure an older woman—a serious breach of respect that brings people to call in the police. But when the boys flee to a hunting party still in the woods, they are not turned in, and eventually the community decides to send them on a long hunt with an older man. The solution to this problem is to reassert traditional values actively.

Brody shows that this society is much more resilient than it has been given credit for. In the face of ever-expanding settlement and industrialization, these hunters

of British Columbia have maintained the way of life they value, and it provides for their needs. If the Beaver are poor, it is only insofar as they lack white people's goods and are treated as poor by white people. Given even minimal guarantees of their hunting and trapping lands, they can continue in their autonomy.

But because Brody so effectively shows that their economy is not simply an efficient means of exploiting resources but part of a larger way of life and mode of thought, he makes one wonder to what extent the tradition has become impoverished. Can the Beaver once again have the powerful dreams they impute to "old timers" when they live in closer and closer proximity to cities and engage in wage labor?

Brody offers no formulaic answers and his observations of the willful blindness of government officials and administrators of social services is too keen to allow easy optimism. But he points out that the precondition for the Indians to maintain their way of

life—control over their land—depends in large part on the dreams of the whites, dreams such as energy, wealth, recreation and development. And these dreams, which have guided the expansion of the frontier until

now are just that—dreams, and not inevitabilities.

Stephan Schwartzman, an anthropology graduate student, recently returned from a year's field work with Indians in central Brazil.

CULTURE SHOCK

ESCAPISM

Three years after Chinese authorities lifted their ban on all but the most doctrinaire communist literature, science fiction is becoming the nation's hottest reading.

WHAT'S IN A COLOR

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and 6/2). See the announcement in this issue's Calendar.

BOOKS

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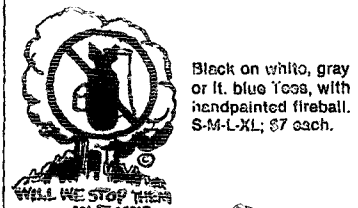
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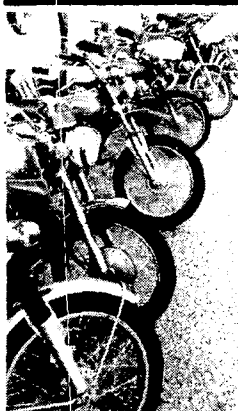
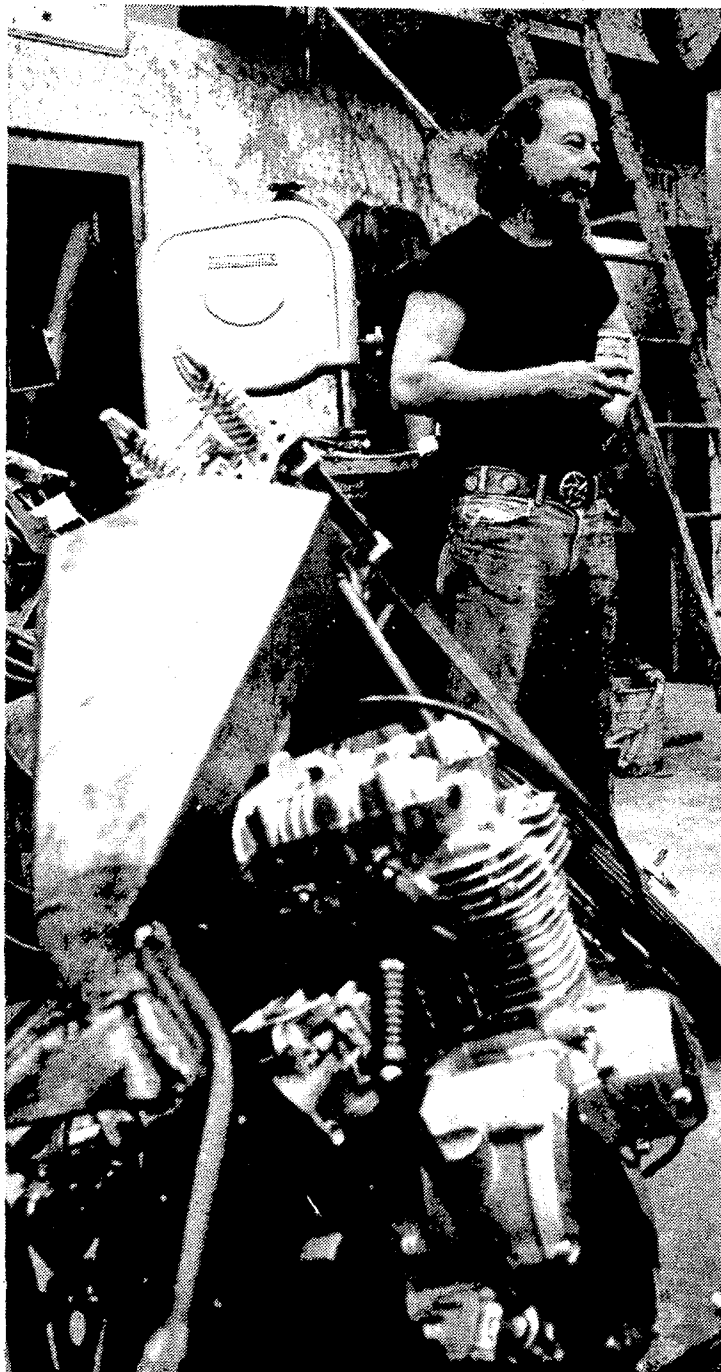
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A bike, a beer and a union card

By Dan MacLeod

To protect their identities, photos of the Undertaker's Motorcycle Club were not used. These motorcyclists belong to a Michigan club.



committee that evening.

While waiting for them at my motel room on the outskirts of town, I was still puzzled by the attitude of their regional union rep, Harold Freeman. When Harold sent me their request for an evaluation of hazardous chemicals in their small auto parts plant, he said they were very sincere. I couldn't imagine why he was refusing to join us that evening.

I heard a commotion outside. Pulling back the window curtain, I saw three or four mean-looking bikers come roaring by on Harleys, followed by a beat-up red Chevy pick-up truck. I let the curtain fall and went back to my papers.

A few seconds later, there was a knock on my door and two of the bikers were standing before me, helmets under their arms.

"We're lookin' for a fellow named Dan," one said. He had a nasty scar on his right cheek.

I hesitated but finally admitted that's who I was. My union guys were bound to be along in a few minutes, if I needed help.

He thrust his hand forward. "My name's Ivan." He was fairly short, clean shaven with medium length hair. But, with his leather jacket and a missing front

tooth he looked pretty formidable. I'm chairman of the union bargaining committee at the plant."

The other fellow grabbed my hand and began pumping it excitedly. He was taller and skinnier with a long ponytail and a scrawny little goatee. "My name's C.J.," he volunteered, his eyes wide and brows arching as he spoke. "I'm the financial secretary."

"We was expecting some older dude," Ivan said coolly, like he was used to being in charge. "I'm also chairman of the road committee of our bike club and we was thinkin' of takin' you over to our place."

I finally understood Harold Freeman's reluctance—Harold was a slightly built, elderly black man.

Beer and business.

I climbed into the pick-up truck where I met Lyle. He was big—tall and heavy with a full bushy beard and flowing hair. A plaid flannel shirt barely covered his huge frame. He held out a massive hand to me in welcome, but didn't say a word. Lyle, I later found out, was the union safety committeeman.

We stopped at a plain cement-block building tucked in among some warehouses, garages, and bars in an old industrial area of town. Outside the building was a long row of shiny Harley-Davidsons. The sign above the door said, "Undertaker's Motorcycle Club."

The barroom was lit by only a couple of Budweiser clocks. I couldn't make out much besides the cement block walls and a long bar, against which were leaning 10 or 12 figures all with long, stringy hair. Each was wearing what seemed to be six or seven shirts along with their colors. As my eyes adjusted I made out several tables, most of them filled.

Everyone was drinking beer from the bottle. A few had shots of whiskey in front of them, too.

Over in the corner stood a small stage with mirrors on the walls. A pudgy striptease dancer was doing an uninspired routine. She seemed to be relying heavily on the strip and very little on the tease. No one in the room was paying her any attention.

We sat down at one of the tables. A new dancer, a little thinner and prettier, came on. She quickly took off her clothes to some country-rock tune. Everybody ignored her too.

Ivan, C.J., Lyle and I ordered our beers and began talking. A few others joined in. The dancer who had just quit had put on a dress and was now making her way from table to table trying to get someone to buy her a drink. She came up to us but the guys brushed her off without bothering to look up. "Not now Midgy, this is business."

We started talking about the union and their plant. "The plant's only been open a couple of years," Ivan was saying. "About 60 guys in there. The company screwed up when they opened. They musta been lookin' for just young husky guys, 'cause what they got was a hunderd percent vets from Nam."

C.J. added with a laugh, "Yeah, includin' most of us from the Undertakers. They just didn't know it."

Ivan continued, "Man, there was problems at first. Coupla the guys beat up a foreman with a pipe, 'cause he'd been ridin' them too hard, and they got sent to jail for it. Then we had a strike, but since we didn't have no union, some of the guys got fired for it."

"But we drove off the plant manager," C.J. said proudly with his eyes wide. "He kept getting these a-non-ee-muss letters calling him 'Pear,' on account of he was fat and funny shaped. I remember one went, 'Dear Pear, we was all trained to kill in Nam and you'd better watch yer ass or we're gonna slit yer throat,' and it was signed, 'Green Cheese.'"

Slowly, some words started coming from Lyle, the only ones from him all evening. "None of us never knowed who Green Cheese was." He grinned at me with an evil look in his eye.

Hard questions.

Ivan went on, "I figured we needed a union. You're always stronger if you're together."

"So we got everyone to sign up and when we had our first election, most of us officers in the Undertakers was elected to the union positions."

"They assigned us Harold to help us out and, man, has he been cool. He taught us a lotta stuff. That ol' man sure got some tricks up his sleeve."

"We keep invitin' him to come down here with us, but I think he's scared of these other guys." He motioned to the dark figures still standing at the bar, then paused. "I guess I can't blame him. Some of these mothers are mean. And I s'pose a little prejudiced."

They began asking me about some of the topics they had seen in union position papers. Finally one of them asked, "What do you think about national health insurance?"

I answered with a shrug, "It's pretty straightforward, we gotta have it. What would you do if you got laid off now, lost your insurance, and then got sick?"

"Well, isn't that socialized medicine?" Ivan asked, eying me closely.

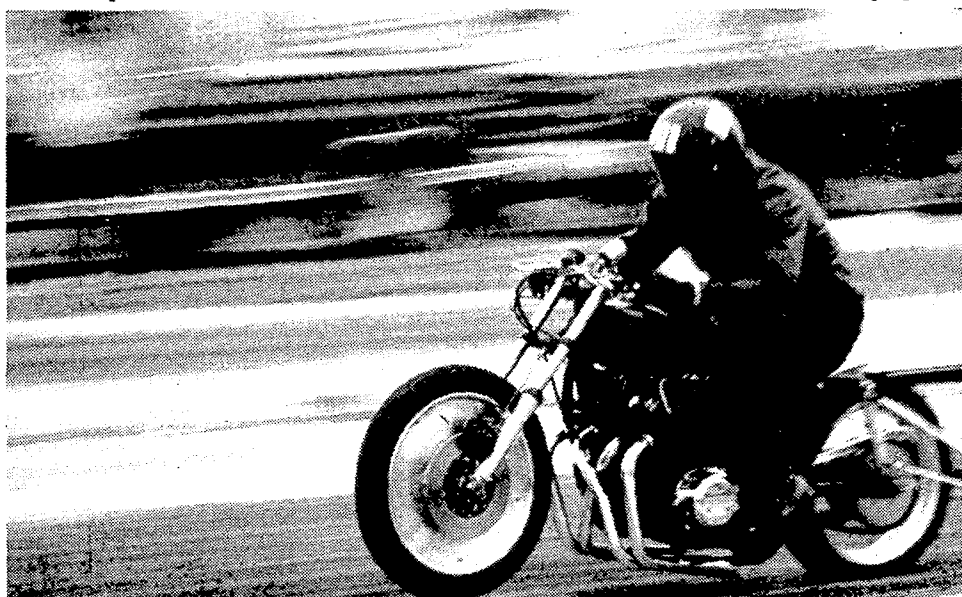
"Not exactly," I answered cautiously. "It only deals with payments, not public control over the whole system."

He put his arms on the table, leaned forward and asked, "Well, what do you think of socialism?"

I looked around the room and wondered what the correct answer to this question was. Lyle was looking more like a hunk of green cheese all the time.

I started slowly. "There's lots of types

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Photographs by Steve Kagan